

**ART AND RITUAL
OF THE
BYZANTINE CHURCH**

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I

Editor for this volume
Robin Cormack



Centre for Byzantine Studies
University of Birmingham

Christopher Walter

**ART AND RITUAL
OF THE
BYZANTINE CHURCH**

Preface by Robin Cormack



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CONTENTS

List of illustrations	xi
Acknowledgements	xvii
Preface	xxi
INTRODUCTION	1
CHAPTER ONE—THE SIGNIFICANCE OF EPISCOPAL COSTUME	7
1. Introduction	7
2. Liturgical vestments	9
i. <i>Omophorion</i>	9
ii. <i>Phelonion</i> and <i>polystavrion</i>	13
iii. <i>Sticharion</i> and <i>sakkos</i>	16
iv. <i>Epitrachelion</i>	19
v. <i>Epimanikia</i>	20
vi. <i>Encheirion</i> and <i>epigonation</i>	21
vii. Conclusion	22
3. Non-liturgical costume and accessories	26
i. <i>Rhabdos</i>	26
ii. Head-dress	29
iii. Mantle	30
4. General conclusion: A semiological analysis	31

CHAPTER TWO—OFFICE AND CEREMONY IN BYZANTINE ILLUMINATED MANUSCRIPTS	35
1. Frontispieces	37
2. Chronicles	41
3. Barlaam and Joasaph	45
4. Lives of saints	47
5. Liturgical calendars	53
6. Old and New Testaments	54
i. Psalters	55
ii. Gospel books	61
iii. Lectionaries	61
7. Liturgical books	64
8. Homilies	67
9. Theological treatises	72
10. Conclusion	76
Appendix: Office and ceremony in other media	79
i. Icons	79
ii. Liturgical objects	81
iii. Seals	82
iv. Other objects	83
CHAPTER THREE—BIOGRAPHICAL SCENES THE WISDOM OF SAINTLY BISHOPS	85
1. Survey of biographical cycles and scenes	88
i. Full cycles	88
ii. Partial cycles	90
iii. Anecdotal cycles	94
iv. Individual scenes	97
v. Attributes and assimilations	103
vi. Conclusion	108
2. The wisdom of saintly bishops	111

CHAPTER FOUR—CHURCH RITES IN BYZANTINE ICONOGRAPHY 116

Ceremonies conferring a character

- 1. Coronation 117
- 2. Marriage 121
- 3. Baptism 125
- 4. Church appointments 130

The cult of the dead and the cult of relics

- 5. Funerary rites 137
 - i. The funeral procession 137
 - ii. Entombment 138
 - iii. From death-bed to lying in state 139
 - iv. Conclusion 144
- 6. The cult of relics 144
 - i. Adventus 145
 - ii. Invention 148
 - iii. Translation 150
 - iv. Deposition 151
 - v. Veneration 153
 - vi. Conclusion 156
- 7. The consecration of an altar 158
- 8. General conclusion 160

CHAPTER FIVE—THE OFFICIAL IMAGERY OF THE BYZANTINE CHURCH 164

The echelon of saintly bishops

- 1. Before the Triumph of Orthodoxy 167
- 2. The ninth and tenth centuries 171
- 3. The eleventh century 174
- 4. Conclusion 177

The entry of liturgical themes into apse programmes

5. Donation and adoration	179
6. Intercession of the saints	181
7. The Last Supper and the Communion of the Apostles	184
8. Liturgical development in the ninth and tenth centuries	189
9. Saint Sophia, Kiev, and Saint Sophia, Ohrid	193
10. Conclusion	196

Eucharistic scenes from the late eleventh century

11. The officiating bishops	200
i. The altar	200
ii. Liturgical rolls	203
iii. <i>Melismos</i> and other legends	205
iv. The significance of the officiating bishops	207
v. Chapel of the prothesis	212
12. Christ as universal patriarch	214
i. The Communion of the Apostles	215
ii. The Celestial Liturgy	217
13. Terrestrial Church and Celestial Church	221

Appendixes

I. Tenth-century churches in Cappadocia	225
II. The rite of the prothesis	232
III. The rite of the <i>Melismos</i>	238

CHAPTER SIX—CONCLUSION:
THE ELEVENTH-CENTURY WATERSHED 239

Plates	following 250
--------	---------------

Bibliography	251
--------------	-----

CONTENTS

ix

Indexes

I. General index	259
II. Index of manuscripts	267
III. Iconographical index	271
IV. Index of pictures of bishops	276

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

PLATE I

1. *Praefectus Annonae* with *paenula*, *Vatican. lat.* 9136, f. 217 (photo Biblioteca Vaticana).
2. Bishops with *sakkos* and *kalyptra*, Patriarchate of Peć (photo Institute of Art History, Belgrade).

PLATE II

3. Peter of Alexandria with *phelonion* and *epigonation*, Athos Dochiariou 5. f. 204 (photo Collection Gabriel Millet, Paris).
4. Penitential *sakkos*, *Paris. graec.* 510, f. 78 (photo Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris).
5. Theodore the Studite with *epigonation*, Dečani (photo Institute for the Conservation of Monuments, Belgrade).

PLATE III

6. Cyril of Alexandria with bonnet, Hosios Loukas (photo D. Tasić).
7. Methodius of Constantinople with bonnet, Peribleptos, Ohrid (photo Institute of Art History, Belgrade).

PLATE IV

8. Isaiah with commentators, *Vatican. graec.* 755, f. 1 (photo Biblioteca Vaticana)
9. Gregory of Nazianzus with his commentator Elias of Crete, *Basileen A NI 8*, f. C^v (photo Universitätsbibliothek Basel).

PLATE V

10. John Chrysostom with his disciples Theodoret and Oecumenius, *Paris. graec.* 224, f. 7 (photo Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris).

11. Sainly doctors cited in the *Panoplia dogmatica* of Zigabenus, *Vatican. graec.* 666, f. 1^v (photo Biblioteca Vaticana).

PLATE VI

12. The Iconophile Nicephorus triumphing over the Iconoclast John the Grammarian, Chludov Psalter, f. 51^v (photo Collection Gabriel Millet, Paris).
13. Nicephorus and John the Grammarian, Pantocrator Psalter, f. 16 (photo Collection G. Millet, Paris).
14. Nicolas of Myra smashing pagan idols, Biographical cycle, Dečani (photo Institute for the Conservation of Monuments, Belgrade)

PLATE VII

15. Theophanes Graptus confronts the Iconoclast emperor Theophilus, Madrid Scylitzes, f. 51 (photo Collection G. Millet, Paris).
16. Spyridon confronts Arian bishops, Smyrna *Physiologus*, f. 9 (photo Bildarchiv der österreichischer Nationalbibliothek).

PLATE VIII

17. Echelons of saints, Last Judgment, Dečani (photo Institute for the Conservation of Monuments, Belgrade)
18. Bishops at prayer before the Hetoimasia, *Vatican. graec.* 752, f. 27^v (from De Wald, *Vatican. graec.* 752).
19. Saints interceding, Deësis icon, Monastery of Saint Catherine, Mount Sinai (from Sotiriou, *Icônes*).

PLATE IX

20. Vision of Peter of Alexandria, Manasija (photo Museum of the Serbian Orthodox Church, Belgrade)
21. Heretic bishop venerating idol, *Paris. graec.* 74, f. 135^v (from Omont, *Evangelies*).
22. Basil reciting the *Orthros*, Barberini Psalter, f. 9^v (photo Collection G. Millet, Paris).

PLATE X

23. Saint Paul inspiring John Chrysostom, *Athen. graec. suppl.* 535, f. 221^v (photo National Library, Athens).
24. John Chrysostom, Source of Wisdom, *Ambrosian.* I 72 Sup. f. 263^v (photo Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Milan).

PLATE XI

25. John Chrysostom, Source of Wisdom, Lesnovo (photo M. Djordjević).

PLATE XII

26. Coronation of Basilicinus, Madrid Scylitzes, f. 80^v (photo Collection G. Millet, Paris)
 27. Marriage of Theophobus, Madrid Scylitzes, f. 53^v (photo Collection G. Millet, Paris).
 28. Conversion and baptism of the sorcerer Nachor, Barlaam and Joasaph, *Paris. graec.* 1128, f. 144^v (photo Collection G. Millet, Paris).

PLATE XIII

29. Conversion of Pelagia, Wall calendar, Dečani (from Mijović, *Menolog*).
 30. Unction of catechumens by John Chrysostom, liturgical roll, *Athen. graec.* 2759 (photo V. Kepetziš).
 31. Baptism of son of Leo VI, Madrid Scylitzes, f. 112 (photo Collection G. Millet, Paris).

PLATE XIV

32. Saint Peter ordaining the Seven Deacons, Tokali New Church, Cappadocia (from de Jerphanion, *Eglises rupestres*).
 33. Nicolas of Myra ordained priest, Biographical cycle, Sopoćani (photo Institut français d'études byzantines, Paris).
 34. Gregory of Nazianzus consecrated bishop, *Paris. graec.* 510, f. 452 (photo Collection G. Millet, Paris).

PLATE XV

35. Basil consecrating Gregory of Nazianzus bishop, *Basileen. A N I 8*, f. O^v (photo Universitätsbibliothek Basel).

PLATE XVI

36. Mummy of bishop Timothy and his successor enthroned, Alexandrian World Chronicle, Pushkin Museum, Moscow (from Bauer and Strzygowski, *Alexandrische Weltchronik*).
 37. Bishop reading the funeral office, detail, Dormition, Psača (photo Institute for the Conservation of Monuments, Belgrade).
 38. Invention of the relics of Stephen the Deacon, Wall calendar, Staro Nagoričino (from Mijović, *Menolog*).

PLATE XVII

39. Dormition, Monastery of Marko (photo M. Djordjević).

PLATE XVIII

40. Translation of Michael III to the Holy Apostles, Madrid Scylitzes, f. 106^v (photo Collection G. Millet, Paris).
 41. Translation of Symeon Nemanja to Studenica, Sopoćani (photo M. Djordjević).

PLATE XIX

42. Invention of the Head of John the Baptist, Menologium of Basil II, p. 420 (from Stornajolo & Franchi de' Cavalieri, *Il Menologio di Basilio II*).
 43. Martyrdom of Timothy and the Translation of his relics, Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, 521, f. 203 (photo Institut français d'études byzantines, Paris).

PLATE XX

44. Adoration of the Cross, *Vatican. graec.* 1156, f. 248 (photo Biblioteca Vaticana).
 45. Exaltation of the Cross, *Vatican. graec.* 1156, f. 250^v (photo Biblioteca Vaticana).
 46. Proclaiming the *Synodikon of Orthodoxy*, Athos Dionysiou 740 (587), f. 43 (photo Collection G. Millet, Paris).

PLATE XXI

47. Veneration of Saint Peter's Chains, Menologium of Basil II, p. 324 (from Stornajolo & Franchi de' Cavalieri, *Il Menologio di Basilio II*).
 48. Saint Peter in prison & Translation of the relics of Gregory of Nazianzus, Wall calendar, Staro Nagoričino (from Mijović, *Menolog*).

PLATE XXII

49. Penitential procession, Menologium of Basil II, p. 350 (from Stornajolo & Franchi de' Cavalieri, *Il Menologio di Basilio II*).
 50. Consecration of an altar, *Paris. graec.* 543, f. 51^v (photo Institut français d'études byzantines, Paris).

PLATE XXIII

51. Resignation of Gregory of Nazianzus from the see of Constantinople, *Paris. graec.* 543, f. 288^v (photo Institut français d'études byzantines, Paris).
52. Personages inclined before a shrine, Hamilton Psalter, f. 173 (photo Collection G. Millet, Paris).

PLATE XXIV

53. Christ bestowing a crown and receiving the donation of the church, San Vitale, Ravenna (photo Institut français d'études byzantines, Paris).
54. Properties of saintly bishops as icons, Saint Sophia, Ohrid (photo M. Djordjević).

PLATE XXV

55. The *Amnos* or *Melismos*, Donja Kamenica (photo G. Subotić).
56. The *Amnos* or *Melismos*, Saints Joachim and Anna, Studenica (photo M. Djordjević).

PLATE XXVI

57. Veneration of an icon, Akathistos cycle, Monastery of Marko (photo M. Djordjević).

PLATE XXVII

58. Communion of the Apostles, Saint Sophia, Ohrid (photo R. Ljubinković).
59. Frontispiece to the Anaphora, Liturgical roll, Jerusalem Stavrou 109 (photo Institut français d'études byzantines, Paris).

PLATE XXVIII

60. Communion of the Apostles, and Christ wearing the *sakkos*, Saint Nikita, Čučer (photo Collection G. Millet, Paris).

PLATE XXIX

61. Apse, with Communion of the Apostles and Last Supper, Ubisi (photo N. & M. Thierry).

PLATE XXX

62. Christ in *sakkos*, detail, Celestial liturgy, Ravanica (photo M. Djordjević).
63. Christ presiding in *sakkos*, detail, apse programme, Lesnovo (photo Collection G. Millet, Paris).

PLATE XXXI

64. Celestial liturgy, detail, Xeropotamou paten (from *Treasures of Mt Athos*, ed. S. Pelekanides).
65. Celestial liturgy with bishops, detail, Monastery of Marko (photo Institut français d'études byzantines, Paris).

PLATE XXXII

66. Rite of the prothesis, Monastery of Marko (photo C. Grozdanov).

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xix

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*Belgrade,
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PREFACE

This book is the first of a series to be produced by Variorum Publications under the aegis of the Centre for Byzantine Studies at the University of Birmingham. It was the idea of the Director of this Centre, Professor A. A. M. Bryer, that each volume in the series should have an editor whose responsibilities were separate from those of the author. No doubt this idea was a reaction to the publication of some Byzantine research in the past which seems to have occurred without an independent reader suggesting any modifications to the choice of material and its treatment by the author. As the first editor in the series, I took the position that I should act as a critical reader of the first draft of the book, offering suggestions for some additions of evidence and changes of emphasis. The author has taken these into account in his final draft. It is, of course, always possible for a reader to suggest numerous but needless alterations to the writing of any other author, but I have acted on the belief that in agreeing to be an editor it is one's place to support the author's conception of his work, and not to try to impose alternative personal views or trivial amendments.

Dr Christopher Walter, British by birth, read history at Oxford then theology in Rome, but has carried out his research into Byzantine art history while based in Paris with his Assumptionist colleagues at the Institut français d'études byzantines. His doctoral thesis (completed in 1967 under Professor André Grabar) was published under the title *L'Iconographie des conciles dans la tradition byzantine* (Paris, 1970). A selection of his articles written between 1968 and 1976 has been published as *Studies in Byzantine Iconography* (Variorum Reprints, London, 1977). He has been more receptive to recent French structuralist thinking than has any other Anglo-Saxon scholar concerned with Byzantine art history, but other fruitful work along structuralist lines must now be expected.

The work of Christopher Walter seems to me to be marked in two

particular ways which both stem from a concern with Byzantine art as a language of communication, rather than as a manifestation of the fine arts. His approach has been, first, concerned with the analysis and interpretation of the content of works of art produced for the Orthodox Christian community. He has never been primarily interested in the stylistic means used by the artists. This iconographic approach has given him an insight into the function of art which is often denied to those who approach Byzantine culture with aesthetic standards and preferences derived from other periods in the history of art (in this field usually from Greek Antiquity or the Italian Renaissance). Christopher Walter, unlike many of those with such aesthetic standards, does not find the first half of the tenth century to be a peak in the history of Byzantine art (the so-called Macedonian Renaissance), but on the contrary he argues that the key period of change was the eleventh century. This is an important part of the argument in the book, and should stimulate discussion. In my opinion, the correlation he suggests between changes in art and society in this period is well-founded, but it may be, as he himself allows, that losses of tenth-century material have somewhat exaggerated the apparent trends. I would myself expect that some modifications to his interpretation will be made when the monumental evidence of the tenth century from Asia Minor as well as the minor arts of Constantinople, such as metalwork, are better understood. I should also like to mention another problem of method in using the approach of an iconographer. The technical aspects of a work of art can never be totally ignored, and allowance needs to be made for oddities of subject matter or omissions of expected contents which might result from the standards of the artistic work—work of very high or very low quality may have eccentric deviations in its iconography. So long as this problem is taken into account, the iconographer is in a position to claim validity for his conclusions on the grounds that they derive from the norms of the culture.

The second distinctive characteristic of the work of Christopher Walter is his use of post-Saussurian structuralism. He has used semiology to enrich his vocabulary and methods of analysis, but he has retained in this book a traditional diachronic interpretation of the material. Although Walter has made his own approach to the work of Lévi-Strauss and Barthes, his arguments are in sympathy with such uses of structuralist thinking as proposed by Edmund Leach, *Culture and Communication: the logic by which symbols are*

connected (Cambridge, 1976). For example, Walter's analysis of church imagery coincides well with Leach's anthropological interpretation of the 'House of God' being in religious practice a mediating bridge between 'this world' and 'the other world', with the implication that the function of 'holy man' (e.g. priests), is to exercise control over this mediating bridge; for they are believed to have the capability of establishing communication with the 'other world' even while they are alive. The reader of the present book can begin to see the value of anthropological perspectives for the study of Byzantine culture.

At this time a growing criticism of art historical studies is of their lack of a conceptual framework or theoretical approach to the subject. Christopher Walter's book demonstrates that even in the present undeveloped state of Byzantine studies, it is possible to make effective use of structuralist thinking. One now looks forward to a period of scholarship with further radical changes in approach to the interpretation of Byzantine cultural history.

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NOTE ON ABBREVIATIONS, AND SLAV AND GREEK WORDS

Old Testament quotations, notably from the Psalms, are given according to *The Septuagint Version, Greek and English*, ed. S. Bagster & J. Pott (London/New York, no date). Abbreviated titles used in the notes will be found in full in the Bibliography. Bulgarian and Russian titles are translated, except in the case of journals when they are transliterated. Titles in Slav languages which admit the use of the Latin alphabet have been left in the original. For Greek, translation, transliteration and latinisation are all used, as it seemed fit.

INTRODUCTION

It is paradoxical, but perhaps only to be expected, that a secularized society like our own should be fascinated by civilisations in which every aspect of life was imbued with the sacred. Such civilizations rely largely on ritual and images in order to enter into contact with the divine powers. They elaborate theories as to how this contact may be established. Their religion and theology may reach a high level of sophistication which is reflected in their ritual and their art. A particularly high level was attained in Byzantine civilization, that of the Eastern Roman Empire. Yet, although the privileged place of the cult of icons in Byzantine worship is common knowledge, only a minority of Byzantine scholars are interested directly in reconstructing the 'sign language' used by artists to express the salient elements of the Byzantine conception of the sacred. In this respect they lag far behind specialists in anthropology and linguistics. ↗

One reason for this reticence may be that specialists in Byzantine art are usually trained in methods elaborated for the study of the 'fine arts'—art for art's sake. They are primarily interested in style, whether as the expression of a personality or of a period. Even when there has been a breakaway from this approach, as in the study of manuscript illustration, attention has been concentrated on the artisanal practices of illuminators. Moreover both approaches are dominated by the humanist canons of Italian Renaissance aesthetics: 'Classicism' is a transcendental value; its survival and renewal are the aspects of Byzantine art which most merit the attention of scholars. ↘

Exception to this general judgment must be made for those who have studied the emergence of Byzantine art forms from those of late Antiquity. These scholars fully understood that sacred art is primarily functional and conceptualist; aesthetic values are subordinated in it to the needs of cult and to the communication of

ideas.^{*} Official religion in late Antiquity was focussed upon the emperor. He was a sacred personage and his palace a sacred place. As supreme pontiff he was the mediator between humanity and the divine powers. Whether or not he assumed the title of Son of Jupiter, his own immortality was assured. On dying he underwent apotheosis, being carried aloft to take his place among the gods. The Stoics, who worked out a theory of providence, attributed a leading part in the unrolling of its plan to the emperor. Yet, if he was mankind's greatest benefactor, there were others: philosophers who acquired and transmitted wisdom and those, like Hercules, who cleared the world of disagreeable beasts and people. The cult of emperors and other benefactors was expressed in images which supplied the models for Christian sacred art.

However, the cult of the emperor, which had been the focal point of official religion since the Augustan period, was losing its adepts in the 3rd and 4th centuries. A more effective contact with the divine was provided by the mystery religions like Mithraism, Judaism and Christianity. Of these the last, in spite of centuries of ostracism or intermittent persecution, had become particularly widespread and powerful, both in its organization and its appeal. Christians had their internal system of government, which was in the hands of their own pontiffs. They had begun to elaborate their ceremonies and their theology. They had even the elements of a coherent system of imagery in which to express the tenets of their faith, although its use was largely restricted to cemeteries.

Constantine's intention, in making Christianity the official religion of the Empire, was to use its cult and institutions as a unifying force. Yet the concessions which he made to attain this end were immense. Christian cult was also focussed upon a person. However, whereas the emperor's effective power was limited to his terrestrial existence, that of Christ, the Son of God and universal ruler, only began when, after living as a man for some thirty years on earth, he ascended into heaven. At the end of time he would return to establish his reign on earth. Meanwhile, in the Christian version of the providential plan, the official recognition of Christianity was interpreted as an essential part accomplished: now that the inhabited world was Christian, the Second Coming would not be long delayed. Christians continued to regard the emperor as a great benefactor. He was the thirteenth apostle, the New David; as earthly vicar he received his authority directly from Christ. However, he did not have the power of giving access to eternal life.

Immortality could be obtained in two ways. Either it was the direct gift of Christ to those whom even the menace of death could not dissuade from acknowledging his divinity—the martyrs, or it was the reward for performing the rites, affirming the doctrine and observing the moral prescriptions of Christianity as they had been transmitted by Christ to his disciples.

Christians could now build churches for the public practice of their cult and decorate them with pictures setting forth the tenets of their faith. The limited range of images used before the official recognition of Christianity was enlarged and restructured. The principal themes of catacomb art were those of immortality and of divine providence, the latter intended to inspire hope and perseverance by recalling God's intervention in the history of the Israelites to protect his chosen people. From the 4th century the theme of immortality remained central but it now acquired a triumphal colouring. The new status of Christians was interpreted as a victory for Christ.

With the exception of a few pictures setting forth the relations between the emperor and the Church, virtually all Christian art in the Byzantine tradition is concerned with immortality. Either it portrays heavenly existence, or those who by their life on earth had merited immortality, or the means by which immortality might be obtained. Even the pictures of Christ during his life on earth are generally related to the occasions on which he was recognized to be divine; to acknowledge that he was the Son of God was a necessary condition of becoming a Christian and hence eligible for immortality. Heaven, however, could only be represented as an analogy of earth. Once the emperor had himself become Christian, it was possible to imagine Christ's heavenly court after the analogy of that of the emperor.

During these first centuries Byzantine sacred art developed a characteristic structure which did not change. On the one hand there were the themes which may be considered as constituting its official imagery. They were those, in this first period, in which Christ is portrayed as a triumphal emperor in his heavenly court surrounded by those who had received the reward of immortality. They also affirmed the accessibility of Christ. Right up to the 9th century the means of access to Christ which was officially recognized was that of actually seeing him and recognizing him as divine. His courtiers were the angels and those mortals who had either recognized him to be the Son of God during his short terrestrial life, or who had seen him in a

vision before his descent to earth or after his ascent to heaven. On the other hand there were the themes which reflect rather the religious practice of the times, concerned notably with the cult of the dead and particularly with the cult of the saints.

Thus far the Byzantine use of art to express the mysteries of its religion has been adequately studied. The aim of the present book is to carry the story further. There were, after the 9th century, radical changes both in the official imagery used and in the themes which reflect the religious practice of the times. This process may be described in one word as one of 'clericalization'. It is symptomatic of the increasing preponderance of the Church in Byzantine society. The analogy between the imperial and the heavenly court had proved adequate to set forth the notion of a united Christendom, of the entire Christian people, under the leadership of the emperor, pursuing its journey together towards immortality and the establishment of Christ's reign on earth. However, in due course this was abandoned. Heaven was conceived rather after the analogy of the sanctuary of a church. Cult was offered to Christ as universal patriarch rather than as universal ruler.

The restructuring of official imagery was a slow process, and was preceded by other changes. One of the most important was the new impetus given to the cult of saints by the triumph of the Iconophiles. The Iconoclasts had denied the utility of invoking saints to intervene benevolently in the lives of mortal men. The Iconophiles reaffirmed the efficacy of intercessory prayer, and their successors systematized the commemoration of saints in the Church's worship. Bishops who had merited their admission to the court of heaven by extirpating heresy and defending orthodox doctrine benefited particularly from this renewal. If a demographic survey of the court of heaven was made, based on the saints represented in Byzantine art, it would reveal that, from being a modest group in the 5th century, not distinguished from other martyrs and confessors of the faith, bishops steadily increased in numbers, constituting a separate echelon, until, by the 14th century, they had become the preponderant element in its population.

Another important change was the Church's re-evaluation of its own rites. After interpreting the Eucharistic sacrifice for centuries in the light of those which foreshadowed it in Old Testament history, theologians began, from the 7th century, to study the Eucharist for itself. The commentary on the liturgy known as the *Historia ecclesiastica*, which is attributed to Germanus, patriarch of

Constantinople, became a standard text-book. It exercised an influence on monumental painting by presenting the church as a microcosm of heaven, and by encouraging artists to seek inspiration in ecclesiastical ceremonies rather than in those of the imperial court. Many iconographical themes, particularly from the 11th century onwards, underwent a process of ritualization.

The present book is a technical study of these developments in Byzantine sacred imagery. It is focussed upon the iconography of bishops and church rites, two themes which are obviously related but do not entirely coincide.

In the first chapter the methods of the new science known as semiology are applied to the bishop as a pictorial sign. An analysis of changes in the vestments attributed to them reveals at once the general lines of development in the official imagery of the Byzantine Church.

A full chapter is devoted to the incidence of bishops and church rites in manuscript illustration. Of all the aspects of Byzantine art, this has been studied the most rigorously in recent decades. Drawing largely on the work of other scholars, particularly on that of Professor Kurt Weitzmann and Mlle Sirarpie Der Nersessian, a repertory is established of scenes illustrating the lives and office of bishops, as well as of those portraying church rites. Their iconography is analysed in the two succeeding chapters, which owe much to the fine study by Mrs Nancy Patterson-Ševčenko of Saint Nicolas cycles. This was read on microfilm, for, unfortunately, its final printed text was not yet available when the present book went to press.

The fifth chapter is devoted to the official imagery of the Byzantine Church, with particular reference to apse programmes. Here the gradual move away from the notion of a Christendom dominated by the emperor towards that of a Church dominated by the episcopacy may be most easily traced. This chapter owes much to the studies by Serbian and Macedonian scholars of the monuments which form part of their national heritages. The wealth of bibliography in their respective languages may be a revelation to many Western readers. It is hardly possible to appreciate developments in Byzantine monumental painting from the 11th century onwards without having recourse to their publications. In interpreting apse programmes in this late period, Father Robert Taft's study of the Great Entrance has proved invaluable.

In the course of this book, evidence accumulates to support the

view that the 11th century was a watershed in Byzantine art. Earlier trends in iconography reach their culminating point. There then occurs a creative renewal which inspires and transforms the art of the following centuries. In the conclusion, an attempt is made to relate this creative renewal to change in Byzantine society: the increasing power of the clergy and concomitant speculation about the Church's structure and its place in the divine providential plan. Since the source of inspiration for this renewal was Judaeo-Christian tradition, it would seem to follow that in its art, as in other branches of its culture, Byzantine society owed less to its classical antecedents than is generally assumed. If so, it is desirable that a new critique should be attempted of the aesthetic principles of Byzantine style. Were not expressionist values normative rather than classical, humanist ones? An answer to this question lies outside the scope of the present study, which claims only to be the modest prolegomena to some future 'Stones of Byzantium'.

CHAPTER ONE

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF EPISCOPAL COSTUME

1. Introduction

In a study of art as a language or means of communication, it is necessary to begin by a detailed examination of the basic sign which recurs in the majority of pictures. In the present study this means starting with the portrayal of the bishop. Artists normally distinguished a bishop from other personages by representing him in the liturgical costume appropriate to his state. However signs in iconography, just as words in language, do not remain absolutely stable. Created for the needs of communication, in the course of time they may be modified, change their meaning or be replaced by synonyms. These phenomena have an interest which extends beyond the study of the sign itself, by reason of their historical and ideological implications.

The costume worn by bishops already excited curiosity in the Byzantine epoch. Canonists like Zonaras and Balsamon set out to establish for which ranks of the hierarchy it was lawful to wear certain vestments, and it was also maintained that a priest who celebrated the liturgy improperly dressed was a heretic.¹ Commentators on the liturgy proposed a mystical meaning for each vestment. They likened the *encheirion* and the deacon's *orarion* to the cloth with which Christ dried the apostles' feet at the Last Supper.² In recent times scholars have attempted to trace the origins and development of vestments,³ while some art historians use

1. J. B. Cotelier, *Ecclesiae graecae monumenta* (Paris, 1677), 129.

2. Bornert, *Commentaires byzantins, passim*; Walter, 'Clergy in the Theodore Psalter,' 232, 233.

3. T. Papas, *Studien zur Geschichte der Messgewänder im byzantinischen Ritus* (Munich, 1965); *idem*, 'Bibliography of Liturgical Vestments of the Byzantine Rite' (in Greek), *Θεολογία* 45 (1974), 172-193; *idem*, 'Bibliography of Priestly and Liturgical Vestments of the Byzantine Rite' (in Greek), *ibid.* 47 (1976), 313-329. For the identification of liturgical

changes in their style, as reflected in iconography, to establish criteria for dating pictures.⁴

Hippolyte Delehaye and Guillaume de Jerphanion were pioneers in the study of costume as a means of communication. Delehaye asked how Christian artists set about the business of attributing a name to a saint without actually writing it.⁵ He separated saints into classes according to their costume: apostles, martyrs and confessors. He then subdivided them according to their character or profession, showing how emblems and personal characteristics could be used to establish their actual names. De Jerphanion observed that the nimbus was a general sign of sanctity. He then distinguished individual saints according to their costume, facial features, gestures and attributes.⁶

Valuable as these pioneering studies are, they nevertheless leave much to be desired. The 'language' used by Byzantine artists requires closer consideration. Although there is system in their use of dress to distinguish categories of saints, this system was not applied rigorously. On the other hand, within the category of bishops they introduced subdivisions which the two scholars do not describe. Also their use of characteristics and attributes to distinguish individual saints was, to put it mildly, haphazard. In fact—and this was explicitly maintained—they did not attempt to attribute a name to a saint without having recourse to writing it. The legend accompanying a portrait was an integral part of it, and the essential means of establishing the identity of the personage represented.⁷

The earliest pictures of bishops can, indeed, only be identified by their legend. This may be due partly to the fact that bishops were

vestments, two older studies are still useful: L. Clugnet, *Dictionnaire grec-français des noms liturgiques dans l'Eglise grecque* (Paris, 1895), reprinted Variorum (London, 1971); P. Bernadakis, 'Les ornements liturgiques chez les Grecs,' *Echos d'Orient* 5 (1902), 129–139. See also, R. Taft, 'The Pontifical Liturgy of the Great Church according to a 12th-century Diataxis in Codex *British Museum Add. 34060*,' *OCP* 46 (1980), 102–105.

4. Nicole Thierry, 'Le costume épiscopal byzantin du 9^e au 13^e siècle d'après les peintures datées,' *REB* 24 (1966), 308–315; *eadem*, 'Les plus anciennes représentations cappadociennes du costume épiscopal byzantin,' *REB* 34 (1976), 325–331; both reprinted in *Peintures*.

5. H. Delehaye, 'Les saints dans l'art,' *Cinq leçons sur la méthode hagiographique* (Brussels, 1934), 119–129.

6. G. de Jerphanion, 'Les caractéristiques et attributs des saints dans la peinture cappadocienne,' *La voix des monuments* (Rome/Paris, 1938), 297–322.

7. Decree of the synod of Hiëreia, Mansi 13, 252; Theodore the Studite, *Antirrheticus* I 9, PG 99, 340; Nicephorus, *Antirrheticus* III, PG 100, 477–480; Sylvestre Syropoulos, *Mémoires*, ed. V. Laurent (Paris, 1971), 250; Gouillard, 'Synodikon,' 170; E. De' Maffei, *Icona, pittura ed arte al Concilio Niceno II* (Rome, 1974), 26ff., 41ff.

only progressively distinguished as constituting a category of saint; the distinction probably did not become formal until after the Triumph of Orthodoxy. It is also due to the fact that a particular liturgical dress for bishops, which in later Byzantine art is the normal way of differentiating them from other categories of saint, only evolved gradually. The bishops who figure in the theories of saints in the nave of Sant'Apollinare Nuovo, Ravenna, wear the same flowing toga-like vestment, an attribute of personages of apostolic times, as those whom they accompany.⁸ Those who figure in the drum of the Rotonda of Saint George, Thessaloniki, wear a tunic (*sticharion*) and *paenula*.⁹ This was the civil dress prescribed for senators in the *Codex Theodosianus* in 382.¹⁰ A good example of it is preserved in the copy of a 6th-century portrait of a *Praefectus Annonae* in *Vatican. lat.* 9136, f. 217 (fig. 1).¹¹ If bishops first affected the dress of eminent civil personages, this was no doubt because it was imposed upon them by imperial legislation. Klauser, however, perhaps goes too far in attributing the origins of all episcopal insignia to a direct transposal of what was customary for imperial officials of equivalent rank.¹² Liturgical dress would have been at the beginning a kind of 'Sunday best'. Wickham Legg rejected long ago the theory that it copied what was worn by officiants in Jewish or pagan cult.¹³

2. Liturgical vestments

i. *Omophorion*

The earliest pictures of bishops wearing a distinctive dress which are securely dated, are the mosaics executed during the episcopate of

8. Deichmann, *Frühchristliche Bauten*, figs. 104, 105, 106, 120–124; *Ravenna Hauptstadt* I, 199–200. Martin of Tours, the only confessor among the martyrs, alone wears a dark mantle or *casula*.

9. A. Grabar, 'A propos des mosaïques de la coupole de Saint-Georges à Salonique,' *CA* 17 (1967), 59–81; Lazarev, *Pittura bizantina*, 9 note 24; W. E. Kleinbauer, 'The iconography and dating of the mosaic decoration in the Rotunda of Hagios Georgios, Thessaloniki,' *Viator* 3 (1972), 27–107. Philip and Cyril, whose *paenula* does not differ from those of the doctors and flute-player, are identified by a legend as bishops.

10. *Codex Theodosianus*, ed. Th. Mommsen (Berlin, 1905), 787 (Lib. Th. xiv.10.1, dated Constantinople 12.i.382).

11. J. Wickham Legg, *Church Ornaments and Their Civil Antecedents* (Cambridge, 1917), 26.

12. Th. Klauser, *Der Ursprung der bischöflichen Insignien und Ehrenrechte* (Krefeld, 1953).

13. Wickham Legg, *op. cit.*, 1–13.

Maximian (546–556) in Ravenna. Maximian himself figures with Justinian in a votive scene in San Vitale, while his predecessors as bishops of Ravenna have their portraits in the apse of Sant'Apollinare in Classe.¹⁴ From the 7th century there are portraits in the cathedral of Mren, Armenia (639–640), as well as a donation scene in Sant'Apollinare in Classe and *ex votos* in Saint Demetrius, Thessaloniki.¹⁵ A series of dated portraits at Faras, Nubia, begins with Ignatius of Antioch executed during the episcopate of Ignatius (768–802), continues with Cyrus (866–902), Peter (975–999) and Marianus (1005–1038).¹⁶

These bishops wear a band of cloth over the *paenula*, looped round the neck and marked with crosses. If this vestment, the Roman *pallium* or the Constantinopolitan *omophorion*, derives from the antique *loros*, the resemblance is slight. It was certainly in use much earlier than the 6th century. Isidore of Pelusium already in the 5th century had likened the *omophorion* to the lost sheep borne on his shoulders by Christ—a simile which becomes a commonplace in later liturgical commentaries.¹⁷ The adoption of the *omophorion* by bishops may be explained by what McMullen suggests to be a general law of development in ceremonial dress, that of dramatic exaggeration:

One should dress the part: an emperor should look like an emperor... a soldier should distinguish himself visibly from his officers and they from their commander-in-chief; chamberlains should not look like lawyers, nor lawyers like consuls, nor consuls like monks and bishops.¹⁸

This law is not contravened by the evidence of episcopal dress. Not only does the *omophorion* distinguish bishops clearly from soldiers or consuls, but it also marks them out from the lower ranks of the clergy—priests and deacons—as well as from the ordinary run of the 'just'. A likely time for bishops to have begun to wear a

14. Deichmann, *Frühchristliche Bauten*, pls. 389, 394–401 (San Vitale), 370 (Sant'Apollinare in Classe); *Ravenna Hauptstadt I*, 241–243, 273.

15. Nicole & M. Thierry, 'La cathédrale de Mren et sa décoration,' *CA* 21 (1971), 43–77, fig. 37; Hoddinott, *Early Byzantine Churches*, 150–152, pls. 29 b-c, 32, 33.

16. K. Michalowski, *Faras, centre artistique et la Nubie chrétienne* (Leiden, 1966), 12, 14, 17, 21, pls. 4, 6, 9, 15.

17. Isidore of Pelusium (died ca. 435), *Epistola* I, 136, PG 78, 272; Bornert, *Commentaires byzantins*, 252–253.

18. R. McMullen, 'Some pictures in Ammianus Marcellinus,' *Art Bull* 46 (1964), 448.

distinctive stole is the late 4th century, although the name *omophorion* was not yet in current use.¹⁹ At the council of Chalcedon the term 'pastoral fleece' was preferred.²⁰ Throughout the Byzantine epoch and up to the present day the *omophorion* has remained the principal characteristic of the liturgical dress of bishops. This is affirmed in many texts. At the council in Trullo it was averred that to take off the *omophorion* signified resignation from the episcopate.²¹ When Macarius was condemned as a heretic during the pontificate of Pope Agathon, he was obliged to take off his *orarium* (presumably the equivalent here of *pallium*).²² Investiture with the *omophorion* was the sign of accession to the episcopacy. This is clear not only from references in the *Lives* of Nicolas of Myra but also from a passage in the *Life* of Andrew the Fool, in which he sees in a vision his disciple, a future patriarch, being invested with the *omophorion* by Christ.²³ In his account of the ceremonial enthronement of a patriarch, Symeon of Thessaloniki notes that, if he was not already a bishop, he put on the *omophorion* at the end of the consecration rite.²⁴ Bishops, even the Iconoclast patriarch John Grammaticus, were buried wearing an *omophorion*.²⁵

In life, however, bishops were supposed to wear the *omophorion* only for religious ceremonies. Thus, according to the *De cerimoniis*, on Easter Sunday after celebrating in the Great Church, the patriarch, still dressed in liturgical vestments, went to the imperial palace. There he blessed the table, but, before drinking the emperor's health, he took off his *omophorion*.²⁶ However, it seems that in practice bishops wore an *omophorion* on other occasions. At the 4th Council of Constantinople it was deplored that bishops wore a richly embroidered *omophorion* as part of their normal dress.²⁷ Certainly the *omophorion* was, in the popular mind, closely associated with the episcopal state. For example in the *Encomium* of

19. Eustratius, *Life of Eutychius* (died 582), PG 86, 2317, 2360 (BHG 657). Other early examples, Lampe, *Lexicon*, 1556.

20. *Acta conciliorum oecumenicorum*, ed. E. Schwartz (Berlin/Leipzig, 1932-1933), II i, 406; Papas, *Studien* (note 3), 218-219.

21. Mansi 11, 365.

22. *Liber Pontificalis* I, 354, 357 note 28.

23. PG 111, 729a. For Nicolas, see below 103-104.

24. PG 155, 449, 453.

25. Patricia Karlin-Hayter, 'Gregory of Syracuse, Ignatios and Photios,' *Iconoclasm*, 145 note 27.

26. *De cerimoniis*, ed. Vogt, I, 71; ed. Reiske, I, 79-80.

27. Mansi 16, 405.

Anastasius the Persian, dating from the 7th century, there is an account of a vision in which appeared a circle of men in shining robes. When the spectator saw that they wore the *omophorion*, he understood that they were bishops.²⁸

Byzantine artists shared this point of view. They represented bishops wearing an *omophorion* in all sorts of unlikely circumstances, invariably for example when undergoing martyrdom. In a picture at Ramača, Nicolas of Myra miraculously arrives riding on horseback in order to rescue a child; he wears his *omophorion*.²⁹ An anachronism, such as that of representing Gregory of Nazianzus wearing an *omophorion* before his episcopal consecration as in *Paris. graec.* 510, f. 452, did not trouble them.³⁰ Nor did they have scruples about representing Lazarus reclining on a couch at the supper-table at Bethany, wearing an *omophorion*, in *Paris. graec.* 74, f. 193.³¹ These anomalies confirm the significative function of the *omophorion* in the iconography of Byzantine bishops.

Over the centuries there were modifications in the form of the *omophorion*. In the earliest representations at Ravenna and Thessaloniki it is narrow, apparently a long strip of cloth, looped sometimes high around the neck, sometimes rather lower on the chest. At that time both these cities were subject to Roman jurisdiction, so that the resemblance to the Roman *pallium*, which retains this aspect, may not be fortuitous. However the same type was used in portraits of bishops in Cappadocia.³² Generally in the earlier churches the crossband passes directly over the chest just below the neck. It may, however, hang rather lower in a loop. Both forms are used in the church of Saint Basil near Sinasos. In the portraits at Faras its form remains consistently the same from the 9th to the 11th century. The loop is pointed at the base, forming a triangle, while the loose end hangs to the side.

From these early representations it is difficult to deduce a chronological development which would provide a sure means of

28. A. Pertusi, 'L'encomio di S. Anastasio martire persiano,' *AB* 76 (1958), 52 = PG 92, 1708c (dated 631-632). Further references to the literary sources, Papas, *Studien* (note 3), 214-221.

29. Djurić, *Vizantijske Freske*, fig. 102; J. Radovanović, 'Nekoliko retko prikazivanih čuda Sv. Nikole,' *ZLU* 13 (1977), 205-216.

30. Omont, *Miniatures*, 31, pl. 60; Walter, 'Three Hierarchs,' 235-236.

31. Ch. Walter, 'Lazarus a Bishop,' *REB* 27 (1969), 197-198, fig. 4, reprinted, *Studies*.

32. Thierry, 'Les plus anciennes représentations' (note 4), 331, figs. 7 a-b. The dating of Saint Basil, Sinasos, to the Iconoclast period is not universally accepted, Ann Wharton Epstein, 'The "Iconoclast" Churches of Cappadocia,' *Iconoclasm*, 103-111.

dating other examples. On the other hand it may be conjectured what this development was. In one representation of Theophilus in the Alexandrian World Chronicle, he wears a wide scarf around his neck (fig. 36); it is virtually identical with that worn by the citizens of Nineveh (or Joppa) in a miniature in the Paris Psalter, *Paris. graec.* 139, f. 431^v.³³ A knotted scarf is worn by Ignatius of Antioch in his portrait at Faras.³⁴ It is more narrow and stylized, with crosses. Since Ignatius, unlike the other bishops represented there, had lived much earlier, this original way of representing his *omophorion* may well be a deliberate archaism. The practice of looping the *omophorion* high on the chest, as for a scarf, is probably more ancient than letting it hang low.

The pictures of bishops in *Paris. graec.* 510 provide evidence that by the 9th century the *omophorion* in Constantinople had become broader; it was also apparently stitched, so that, from a loop round the neck, a long single band hung down the whole length of the body.³⁵ It had thus become quite distinct from the Roman *pallium*. In the Menologium of Basil II artists show little consistency in their representation of the *omophorion*.³⁶ This may be symptomatic of an inconsistency in liturgical practice in the 10th century. It was a time of liturgical renewal; at such times there is room for diversity in liturgical dress. By the mid-11th century, however, the *omophorion* was again being represented uniformly as a long band with one end hanging back over the shoulders and the other falling in front.³⁷ By the 14th century it had become again much broader, resembling the form which was prevalent in the 9th century.³⁸

ii. *Phelonion* and *polystavrion*

The term *phelonion* for the specialized form of *paenula* affected by the Byzantine clergy was in general use at least as early as the beginning of the 9th century, when the patriarch Nicephorus sent pope Leo III as presents, with an accompanying letter, a white *sticharion*, a brown *phelonion*, an *epitrachelion* and an *encheirion*.³⁹

33. Bauer & Strzygowski, *Alexandrische Weltchronik*, 122, pl. VI^v; Omont, *Miniatures*, 9, pl. 12.

34. Michalowski, *Faras* (note 16), 12, pl. 4.

35. Omont, *Miniatures*, *passim*.

36. Walter, 'Clergy in the Theodore Psalter,' 237-238.

37. *Ibid.*, 238-239.

38. Djurić, *Vizantijske Freske*, figs. 53, 78, 83, etc.

39. *Regestes*, no. 382; PG 100, 200.

However this vestment was not reserved to bishops. In many pictures of ceremonies, particularly those concerned with relics, there figure personages wearing a *sticharion* and a *phelonion*, with no other sign of their clerical rank. The just are also represented wearing a *phelonion*, for example in the Theodore Psalter, f. 82.⁴⁰ This was the normal dress for Cosmas and Damian, who, indeed, were chosen with two bishops to represent the just in a miniature in the Barberini Psalter, f. 49.⁴¹ In their case the iconographical tradition is probably very ancient; they continue to wear the civil dress common to all the non-military personages represented in the Rotonda of Saint George, Thessaloniki. Generally the *phelonion* of members of the clergy other than priests and bishops, and of the just is less ample; in the miniature cited above in the Barberini Psalter, Cosmas and Damian have their *phelonion* pulled inwards off their shoulders leaving their arms free.

Specialization in the form of the *phelonion* occurs when it is decorated with crosses; it is then called a *polystavrion*. This word first appears in the literary sources in the 12th-century *Commentary* of John Zonaras on the 17th canon of the council of Chalcedon.⁴² He attributes to the bishops of Caesarea, Ephesus, Thessaloniki and Corinth the right to wear the *polystavrion* in their churches. Later in the century, however, Theodore Balsamon maintained that the *polystavrion* was a vestment reserved to the patriarch of Constantinople.⁴³ In the 15th century Symeon of Thessaloniki attributed the right to wear the *polystavrion* to all metropolitans.⁴⁴ The use of the vestment therefore became progressively more general. An intermediate stage in this development may have been the practice of attributing the right to the *polystavrion* as a personal privilege. Thus, during the reign of Michael VIII Palaeologus, before 1277, the metropolitan of Cyzicus was appointed *hypertimos*, with the right to archiepiscopal vestments.⁴⁵ Unfortunately the text does not specify what these vestments were. On the other hand, the reference to the *polystavrion* is clear in the patriarch Philotheus's

40. Der Nersessian, *Theodore Psalter*, fig. 132.

41. Walter, 'Clergy in the Theodore Psalter,' 240, fig. 2.

42. PG 137, 456.

43. *Responsa*, PG 138, 989; *De patriarcharum privilegiis*, PG 138, 1020f.

44. PG 155, 869.

45. *Regesten*, no. 2027; V. Grumel, 'Titulature des métropolités, I, Métropolités hypertimes,' *Mémorial Louis Petit* (Bucarest, 1948) 152 ff.

letter, dated 1370, to Alexius, bishop of Novgorod.⁴⁶ He denies him the right to wear crosses on his *phelonion*, for this right had been given as a personal privilege only to his predecessor Moses. By a rare coincidence, a fresco has survived in the church of the Dormition, Volotovo, dating from about 1380, in which both Moses and Alexius are represented as donors. In spite of the patriarch's letter prohibiting this, Alexius is represented wearing the *polystavrion* as well as Moses.⁴⁷

There exist pictures of saintly bishops wearing the *polystavrion* earlier in date than the first literary references. The first such pictures to be securely dated are those at Ateni, Georgia (1072–1089).⁴⁸ A number of bishops are represented wearing a *polystavrion* in this church. Probably earlier, but datable only by its style to the mid-11th century, is the portrait of John Chrysostom at Eskı Gümüş.⁴⁹ John Chrysostom also figures in a *polystavrion* at Asinou (1106).⁵⁰ Meanwhile, in *Vatican. graec.* 1156, the bishop presiding at the Exaltation of the Cross, f. 250^v (fig. 45), as well as Nicolas of Constantinople, f. 271, at the date of his commemoration (December 16), wear a *polystavrion*.⁵¹ A convenient *terminus post quem* for its introduction into iconography is provided by the pictures of bishops at Saint Sophia, Kiev (1042–1046) and at Saint Sophia, Ohrid (before 1056), since in neither of these churches are bishops represented wearing the *polystavrion*.⁵²

At first John Chrysostom is the bishop most frequently represented in this way. Indeed it has been said that a tradition attributed the origin of this specialisation of the *phelonion* to him.⁵³ He wears the *polystavrion* at Cefalù (1148).⁵⁴ At Nerezi (1164), it is worn by six bishops: Epiphanius of Cyprus, Gregory of Nazianzus, John Chrysostom, Basil of Caesarea, Athanasius of Alexandria and Gregory of Nyssa, although Gregory the Wonderworker and Nicolas of Myra wear the ordinary *phelonion*.⁵⁵ If the artist's

46. *Regestes*, no. 2583, compare no. 2364.

47. Lazarev, *Old Russian Murals*, 165–166, figs. 140–142.

48. Thierry, 'Programmes absidaux,' 12, fig. 11.

49. *Ibid.*, 7, fig. 3.

50. Marina Sacopoulou, *Asinou en 1106* (Brussels, 1966), 79–81. pl. 22b.

51. Mijović, *Menolog*, 194 note 146. For an extensive list of examples of the *polystavrion*, Orlandos, *Patmos*, 244 note 1.

52. See below, 175.

53. Papas, *Studien* (note 3), but with no indication of his source.

54. O. Demus, *The Mosaics of Norman Sicily* (London, 1949), pl. 7a.

55. Hamann-MacLean & Hallensleben, *Monumentalmalerei*, fig. 32.

intention was to attribute the *polystavrion* according to the see which the bishop occupied, then no problem arises except for Gregory of Nyssa, for Cyprus was an autocephalous church, Caesarea is specifically mentioned by Zonaras as having the right to the *polystavrion*, while the other two sees are patriarchal. It is also clear why Sava, as founder of the Serbian church, is represented wearing a *polystavrion* at Studenica (1208–1209).⁵⁶

In general, however, there is little consistency in the attribution of the *polystavrion*. In the 12th-century *Panoplia Dogmatica*, Vatican. *graec.* 666, f. 1^v (fig. 11), Athanasius and Cyril of Alexandria, and Gregory of Nazianzus are represented in an ordinary *phelonion*; only John Chrysostom has a *polystavrion*.⁵⁷ On the other hand in the Psalter Athos Vatopediou 762 (610), f. 88^v, John Chrysostom and Gregory of Nazianzus wear a *polystavrion* while Basil of Caesarea does not.⁵⁸ In the Madrid Scylitzes it is used sparingly: a scene at Blachernae, f. 33; the restoration of images, f. 63^v; the calumny of Methodius, ff. 66–66^v; the consecration of Euthymius I, f. 112^v.⁵⁹ For Gregory of Nazianzus in the liturgical edition of his homilies it is also used sparingly: *Sinait. graec.* 339, f. 109, 397^v; Athos Karakallou 24, f. 3^v (?); *Paris. graec.* 543, f. 51^v (fig. 50).⁶⁰

Thus, apart from a preference for John Chrysostom, there does not seem to be a principle informing the use of the *polystavrion* in iconography in the 11th and 12th centuries. From the 13th century, however, it is used almost indiscriminately, particularly in series of apse portraits.⁶¹ This may, indeed, correspond to the extension of the privilege of wearing the *polystavrion* to the occupants of a greater number of sees in the Byzantine Church.

iii. *Sticharion and sakkos*

The *sticharion* and the *sakkos* present far more problems for the student of the history of costume than for the student of iconography.⁶² In Byzantine art, the *sticharion* is a long tunic, which may

56. *Ibid.*, fig. 74.

57. Spatharakis, *Portrait*, 122–129, figs. 78–79, 83–84.

58. Sirarpie Der Nersessian, 'A Psalter and New Testament Manuscript at Dumbarton Oaks,' *DOP* 19 (1965), 167, fig. 57.

59. Grabar & Manoussacas, *Skylitzès*, nos. 67, 156, 163–165, 260.

60. Galavaris, *Gregory Nazianzenus*, figs. 388, 385, 452, 457.

61. Xyngopoulos, *Nicolas Orphanus*, 14.

62. Papas, *Studien* (note 3), 106–111.

be attributed to various categories of people, including all ranks of the clergy. It has, therefore, no precise significative value for the iconography of bishops. The only possible distinctive marks might be the *potamoi* and *gammata* with which it is sometimes decorated.⁶³

The earliest dated pictures of a bishop wearing the *sakkos* are the portraits of Nicolas Cabasilas in the Peribleptos, Ohrid (1295), and of Sava of Serbia in the Bogorodica Ljeviška, Prizren (1308–1309).⁶⁴ It is square in shape, worn over the *sticharion*, cut away at the sides and with relatively short sleeves. Thus it closely resembles the dalmatic of the Latin rite. The term *sakkos* appears much earlier in the literary sources.⁶⁵ Originally the *sakkos* was worn as a penitential garment. As such it had been in use among the Jews. Over the centuries its use was modified, although it retains more or less the same form, that of a tunic. A unique example of bishops wearing the penitential *sakkos* appears in the miniature illustrating the homily of Gregory of Nazianzus preached on the occasion of a storm of hail, *Paris. graec.* 510, f. 78 (fig. 4).⁶⁶ The garment is wider and hangs more freely than the liturgical *sticharion*. Analogous examples exist worn by the emperor in the penitential processions commemorating an earthquake in the Menologium of Basil II.⁶⁷

When references to the *sakkos* occur in later texts, it seems unlikely that the word still had penitential connotations. For example, when the Pseudo-Codinus explains the significance of various imperial vestments, he says that the *sakkos* is a sign of the mystery of royalty.⁶⁸ Balsamon mentions the *sakkos* as a vestment

63. Ducange, *Glossarium*, 236–237, 1208–1209. The use of *potamoi* and *gammata* in Byzantine art seems to be decorative rather than significative.

64. C. Grozdanov, 'Prilozi poznanju srednjovekovne umetnosti Ohrida,' *ZLU* 2 (1966), 199–207, fig. 1; Draga Panić & Gordana Babić, *Bogorodica Ljeviška* (Belgrade, 1975), 129, pl. 4. See also Mirjana Čorović-Ljubinković, 'Uz problem ikonografije srpskih svetitelja,' *Starinar* 7–8 (1956–1957), 86, fig. 9; Desanka Milošević, 'Ikonografija svetoga Save u srednjem veku,' *Sava Nemanjić*, 279–318.

65. Lampe, *Lexicon*, 1221.

66. Omont, *Miniatures*, 18, pl. 29.

67. *Menologium of Basil II*, 65 (earthquake of 447), 350 (earthquake of 450); PG 117, 72, 280.

68. *De officiis*, ed. Verpeaux, 200–201. For useful information on the imperial *sakkos*, see M. Hendy, *Coinage and Money in the Byzantine Empire* (Washington, D.C., 1969), 65. The recent study by Elizabeth Piltz, 'Trois sakkoi byzantins,' *Figura* N.S. 17 (1976), 13–26, should be read with caution.

reserved, in ecclesiastical usage, to the patriarch.⁶⁹ Slightly later, Demetrius Chomatianus says that it was worn only three times a year, for Christmas, Easter and Pentecost.⁷⁰ Thus in the 13th century it was a peculiarly solemn vestment, although, by the 15th century, its use had become general, for Symeon of Thessaloniki attributes the right to wear it to all archbishops.⁷¹

In Byzantine art examples of bishops wearing the *sakkos* are rare except in official imagery. It is attributed once to John Chrysostom in the baptismery of San Marco, Venice (1342–1354),⁷² and once to Gregory of Nazianzus in the 14th-century *Paris, graec.* 543, f. 283v.⁷³ On the other hand both Sava and Arsenije of Serbia wear the *sakkos* in the Nemanjić genealogical tree at Peć (ca. 1330) (fig. 2).⁷⁴ Nicolas of Ohrid, like his predecessor Constantine Cabasilas, wears it in two series of founder portraits, at Saint Nicolas Bolnički (1345) and in the parecclesion of Saint John the Baptist at Saint Sophia, Ohrid.⁷⁵ It is notable that none of the bishops wear the *sakkos* when they figure with other celebrating saintly bishops in apse programmes.⁷⁶ The pictures evidently proclaim the privileged status of their respective sees. Their origin in Byzantine official imagery may be inferred from the fact that both Gregory Palamas in the icon-portrait painted shortly after his death and the patriarch Joseph in his funeral effigy at Santa Maria Novella, Florence, are also wearing the *sakkos*.⁷⁷

It is common from the 14th century onwards to find Christ represented wearing the *sakkos* in Byzantine apse programmes. He also wears it in the royal Deësis at Kovalyovo.⁷⁸

There is much variety in the decoration of the *polystavrion* and the *sakkos*: discrete crosses, an overall pattern of black and white

69. PG 138, 989, 1020.

70. PG 119, 949–952; J. Darrouzès, 'Les réponses canoniques de Jean de Kitros,' *REB* 31 (1973), 324.

71. PG 155, 829–852.

72. Lazarev, *Pittura bizantina*, 406, 440 note 249.

73. Galavaris, *Gregory Nazianzenus*, fig. 467. See below, 24.

74. Djurić, *Vizantijske Freske*, fig. 58.

75. Grozdanov, *Ohridsko Slikarstvo*, 54ff., 62ff.; *idem*, 'Prilozi' (note 64), 207ff.

76. Milošević, 'Ikono grafija Save' (note 64), *passim*; Grozdanov, *art. cit.*, 203, fig. 2.

77. Lazarev, *Pittura bizantina*, 376, 418 note 88; Bank, *Byzantine Art*, 330, 382; G. V. Popov, 'The Icon of Gregory Palamas from the State Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow, and Painting in Thessaloniki of the Late Byzantine Period' (in Russian), *Art of Western Europe and Byzantium*, ed. V. N. Graščenkov, etc. (Moscow, 1978), 262–274.

78. Lazarev, *Old Russian Murals*, 261–262, fig. 74. For Christ wearing the *sakkos*, see below, 214ff.

crosses, crosses in circles, crosses framed in gammas. Further study might make it clear to what extent these different patterns reflect the artist's fantasy or fashion trends, and to what extent they have significative value.

iv. *Epitrachelion*

The earliest reference to the *epitrachelion* as a liturgical vestment is in the letter, mentioned above, from Nicephorus to Leo III.⁷⁹ The word, as well as *peritrachelion*, exists in classical Greek. Etymologically it refers simply to something worn around or on the neck.⁸⁰ Liturgical commentators were to liken it to the cloth tied around Christ's neck, by which he was dragged along by the high priest.⁸¹ Stole-like garments exist in pre-Christian art, as, for example, on the so-called 'ecclesiastical stone' in Chester.⁸² Cosmas and Damian also are sometimes represented with a stole-like garment round their necks, so that the *epitrachelion* was also in all probability a specialization of an article of civil dress.⁸³

The *epitrachelion* is primarily a vestment worn by priests. To wear it for the liturgy did not at once become obligatory, witness the canon of uncertain date, cited above, imposing its use under pain of heresy.⁸⁴ In pictures where priests take part in a religious ceremony, they may be represented wearing the *epitrachelion* under the *phelonion*, for example in the scene of the recovery of the relics of the Forty Martyrs in the Theodore Psalter, f. 81^v,⁸⁵ or in the scene of Basil celebrating the liturgy in the apse of Saint Sophia, Ohrid.⁸⁶ In portraits of priests or *hieromonachoi*, the personage from the 11th century normally wears an *epitrachelion*.⁸⁷ Wearing the *epitrachelion* is also the usual formula for the representation of the

79. See note 39; Papas, *Studien* (note 3), 155.

80. Lampe, *Lexicon*, 1076.

81. Germanus, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, ed. Brightman, 262.

82. R. P. Wright & I. A. Richmond, *Catalogue of the Roman Inscribed and Sculptured Stones in the Grosvenor Museum* (Chester, 1955), no. 120, 49, pl. 21. A stole-like garment may have been used by officiants in pagan rites, H. Stern, *Le calendrier de 354* (Paris, 1953), 224-225, pl. 42 ii.

83. *Menologium of Basil II*, 152; W. Artelt, 'Kosmas und Damian,' *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie* 7, 344-352.

84. See note 1.

85. Der Nersessian, *Theodore Psalter*, fig. 131.

86. Djurić, *Vizantijske Freske*, fig. 6.

87. In the Theodore Psalter, Theodore the Studite, f. 88^v, Mocius, f. 94, Hermolaius, f. 178^v, Der Nersessian, *Theodore Psalter*, figs. 144, 153, 281. Frequent examples in *Vatican. graec.* 1156, Walter, 'Clergy in the Theodore Psalter,' 234-236, 238.

ordination of a priest; examples are common in the biographical cycles of Nicolas of Myra.⁸⁸

Bishops are not represented wearing an *epitrachelion* either in early monumental painting or in *Paris. graec.* 510. However, by the end of the 10th century, its use had become normal in iconography. At Direkli kilise (976–1025) in all the extant pictures of bishops the *epitrachelion* is present.⁸⁹ If artists were less meticulous in the miniatures of the Menologium of Basil II (only nineteen out of seventy pictures of bishops include an *epitrachelion*), they attribute this vestment regularly to orthodox bishops, although not to heretical ones, in the miniatures of the Theodore Psalter.⁹⁰

Normally the *epitrachelion* is visible around the neck above the *phelonion* as well as below. In early representations it is narrow, becoming broader in the 13th century. It differs from the stole attributed to Cosmas and Damian in that either it has a single end or the two ends appear to be stitched together (see figs. 3, 5). It is rather a sign of the priestly than of the episcopal state.

v. *Epimanikia*

Epimanikia are mentioned for the first time as liturgical vestments in a letter addressed by Peter of Antioch to Michael Cerularius in 1054.⁹¹ Etymologically they signify something worn on the sleeve, and possibly derive from cuffs worn in civil dress.⁹² It seems that they were first reserved to bishops. At least, Theodore Balsamon discusses whether archpriests and hegumens have the right to wear them.⁹³ Later they became a liturgical vestment worn by both bishops and priests; the liturgical texts use the general word *hiereus*.⁹⁴

The bishops who figure in *Paris. graec.* 510 do not wear *epimanikia*. In 10th-century manuscripts it is often far from clear, in the pictures cited by Papas, whether the bishops really wear *epimanikia*, or a *sticharion* with decorated sleeves.⁹⁵ In the

88. See below, 131.

89. Thierry, 'Costume épiscopal' (note 4), 313.

90. *Ibid.*, 312–313, but the author does not distinguish between orthodox and heretical bishops; Walter, 'Clergy in the Theodore Psalter,' 239. See below, 32.

91. *Regestes*, no. 867, PG 120, 800; Papas, *Studien* (note 3), 81–105.

92. Papas, *op cit.*, 105.

93. PG 138, 988–989.

94. Trempeles, *Three Liturgies*, 1–2.

95. Papas, *Studien* (note 3), 85. The example of Nicolas of Myra in the Leo Bible,

Theodore Psalter, definition of *epimanikia* is usually better.⁹⁶ Sometimes, however, they are omitted. It may be, in the case of heretical bishops, that omission is deliberate, but this can hardly be true for orthodox bishops. From the 13th century onwards, artists represent *epimanikia* more meticulously.

vi. *Encheirion and epigonation*

The *encheirion* is mentioned for the first time as a liturgical vestment in the letter addressed by Nicephorus of Constantinople to Leo III of Rome.⁹⁷ However the word was already in common use to signify a handkerchief.⁹⁸ In the *Historia ecclesiastica* it is described as a cloth hung over the girdle and used for wiping the hands.⁹⁹ It appears in Byzantine art for the first time in the Menologium of Basil II, although rarely; only eight out of seventy bishops are represented wearing an *encheirion*.¹⁰⁰ It does not figure in the portraits of bishops in Direkli kilise. However, in wallpainting, it does become a regular item of episcopal dress in the 11th century, for example at Saint Barbara, Soganlı (1006 or 1021) and at Saint Sophia, Kiev (1042–1046).¹⁰¹

The painters of miniatures took longer to introduce the *encheirion* into their pictures of bishops. It appears in one illumination only in both *Vatican. graec.* 752, f. 88^v,¹⁰² and the Theodore Psalter, f. 35^v.¹⁰³ The latter picture, of the Three Hierarchs, is unusual in another respect. It is the only frontal portrait of bishops in the manuscript, although bishops had been represented frontally in the Chludov Psalter: f. 23^v, Nicephorus; f. 47^v, John Chrysostom.¹⁰⁴ A few representations of the *encheirion* also appear in *Vatican. graec.* 1156, but only in 12th-century manuscripts does it become general.

Miniature della Bibbia Cod. vat. regin. greco I. (Milan, 1905), 1, is more than doubtful. Each of those cited by Papas from the Menologium of Basil II must be considered on their individual merits. Papas admits in other cases, *op. cit.*, 86, difficulty in identification.

96. Walter, 'Clergy in the Theodore Psalter,' 234–235, 239.

97. See note 39.

98. It is in this sense that Proclus of Constantinople uses the word in his *Homily on the Annunciation* (attributed to Basil of Seleucia), PG 85, 448.

99. PG 98, 396.

100. Thierry, 'Costume épiscopal' (note 4), 312–313.

101. *Ibid.*, 313.

102. De Wald, *Vatican. graec.* 752, 16–17, pl. 24.

103. Der Nersessian, *Theodore Psalter*, fig. 60.

104. Ščepkina, *Chludov Psalter*, at folio number.

In a response dated 1193, Balsamon uses the term *epigonation*.¹⁰⁵ He raises the question whether members of the clergy other than bishops had the right to wear it. From the context, since Balsamon compares the *epigonation* with the cloth used by Christ to dry the apostles' feet, an analogy already used in the *Historia ecclesiastica* for the *encheirion*, it is clear that both words apply to the same vestment.¹⁰⁶ *Epigonation*, in fact, becomes the normal word, while *encheirion* ceases to be used. The only priest to be represented regularly with the *epigonation* is Theodore the Studite from ca. 1400, for example in the Holy Apostles, Thessaloniki, and the churches decorated by Milutin (fig. 5).¹⁰⁷

The stages of development in the liturgical use of this vestment are clear. At the beginning it was simply a towel which bishops carried tucked into their girdle in order to wipe their hands. By the 9th century it had become a regular item of liturgical dress. It then ceased to be functional, taking on the form of a stiff, square object attached by the corner to the girdle. This development may be followed in Byzantine art. About the time that its name changes, the vestment ceases to be represented as a limp embroidered cloth. It appears regularly in Palaeologan pictures of bishops, often decorated with a cross or picture (compare figs. 3, 5). The *epigonation* is now clearly a badge of rank; consequently it was important to decide which members of the clergy had the right to wear it. The evidence provided by portraits of Theodore the Studite shows that the privilege was extended to priests.

vii. Conclusion

Symeon of Thessaloniki described a bishop vesting for the liturgy:

He puts on the *sticharion*, then the *epitrachelion*, girdle and *epigonation*. Next he takes the *epimanikia*, then the *phelonion*, *sakkos* or *polystavrion* and finally the *omophorion*.¹⁰⁸

The portrait of Peter of Alexandria in the 12th-century Athos Dochiariou 5, f. 204^v, (fig. 3) well exemplifies the fully vested

105. PG 138, 988–989. The expression *epi gonaton* occurs already in the 10th century, Darrouzès, *Epistoliers byzantins*, 133 (Letter 55).

106. Germanus, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, ed. de Galland, PG 98, 396.

107. Doula Mouriki, 'The Portraits of Theodore the Studite in Byzantine Art,' *JÖB* 20 (1971), 274, fig. 14.

108. PG 155, 257–260.

bishop.¹⁰⁹ The *epitrachelion* is visible above the *omophorion*, while the two ends, apparently stitched together, hang below the *phelonion*. The right *epimanikion* may be clearly seen. The *encheirion* hangs loosely below the *phelonion*.

Of these vestments, the first in historical order are the *phelonion* and the *sticharion*. However, it is only when the *omophorion* is added that the bishop, both in ceremony and iconography, is clearly distinguished from other members of the clergy and laity. These were the most important vestments. The *epitrachelion*, *epimanikia*, and *encheirion* or *epigonation* were secondary. Consequently, until the 12th century, artists did not invariably add them when representing a bishop.

A new departure was the introduction of a specialized form of the *phelonion*, the *polystavrion* marked with crosses. It appears in iconography in the 11th century, earlier than the first reference in the literary sources. This was followed by the substitution of a different style of vestment, the *sakkos*. The word itself is ancient. It is first applied to a solemn liturgical vestment by Balsamon. The earliest surviving picture of a bishop wearing the *sakkos* dates from the end of the 13th century. These new vestments appear at a time when there was a general renewal of interest in ceremonial dress in Byzantine society. For the court this is apparent in the detailed descriptions of the costume appropriate to different ranks and offices in the *De officiis*, while Nicolas Cabasilas wrote with regard to liturgical vestments, long before McMullen, that dress indicates the profession, rank and dignity of the wearer.¹¹⁰ The exact development cannot be traced, but the general lines are clear. Both the *polystavrion* and the *sakkos* were at first reserved to the patriarch. It is likely that the right to wear them was then granted, as a personal privilege, to the occupants of more important sees. The privilege then became attached to the see itself, and was progressively adopted, licitly or illicitly, by the occupants of other sees.

Too few examples of portraits of living bishops have survived to allow it to be stated as more than a probability that changes in the manner of representing bishops were first made in their official portraits. In favour of this view may be advanced the pictures of bishops of Ohrid and of Serbia wearing the *sakkos*. Further it is evident in general that changes are introduced into portraits of

109. *Treasures* III, fig. 264; see below, 49.

110. Cabasilas, *Divine liturgie*, 62.

bishops in churches earlier than into those in manuscripts. Portraits in churches were on public view, while illuminations in manuscripts were seen only by the reader. Two exceptions to this general rule may be noted. The picture of the Three Hierarchs in the Theodore Psalter, f. 35^v, is the most exact rendering of episcopal dress in the manuscript. Since the portraits are frontal, it is probably a copy of a painting in a church.

More important is the series of pictures of Gregory of Nazianzus in a manuscript of his *Homilies*, *Paris. graec.* 543. Closely related to a group of earlier illuminated manuscripts of the *Homilies*, it differs from them in the precision with which Gregory's dress is portrayed.¹¹¹ In four miniatures, ff. 23^v, 27^v, 130^v, 260^v, Gregory wears a *phelonion*.¹¹² He has a stiff square *epigonation* and the *potamoi* are meticulously drawn on his *sticharion*. In the manuscript this is his ordinary episcopal dress. However, on the solemn occasion when he consecrates an altar, f. 51^v, he wears a *polystavrion*, while the surrounding bishops wear a *phelonion* (fig. 50).¹¹³ On a yet more solemn occasion, when he resigned as patriarch of Constantinople, he addresses the other bishops wearing a *sakkos*, f. 288.¹¹⁴ In the succeeding scene, when he presents his resignation to the emperor, he wears a simple mantle (fig. 51).

Although the principal use of vestments in iconography was to build up a 'sign' for a bishop, certain subtleties could be introduced. For example, in apse programmes no celebrating bishop wears a *sakkos*. This is reserved to Christ the universal patriarch.¹¹⁵ Omissions could also be significative. Thus heretical bishops are sometimes represented defectively dressed. Either some vestment is lacking, or the crosses on their *omophorion* are replaced by a decorative pattern.¹¹⁶ These crosses, according to the *Historia ecclesiastica*, commemorate Christ's carrying of the Cross.¹¹⁷ No doubt the artists wished to imply that heretical bishops did not faithfully carry their cross.

111. Walter, 'Gregory of Nazianzus,' 208–209; J. C. Anderson, 'The Illustration of cod. Sinai gr. 339,' *Art Bull* 61 (1979), 179, 184–185. H. Buchthal suggests a date in the 1330's, 'Toward a History of Palaeologan Illumination,' *The Place of Book Illumination in Byzantine Art* (Princeton, 1975), 161.

112. Galavaris, *Gregory Nazianzenus*, figs. 454, 455, 461, 466.

113. *Ibid.*, fig. 457.

114. *Ibid.*, fig. 467.

115. See below, 214ff.

116. Walter, *Conciles*, 259–260; 'Clergy in the Theodore Psalter,' 239–240.

117. PG 98, 396.

A special problem was presented by the Seventy Apostles. According to Luke 10, 1, Christ after conferring their mission on the Twelve Apostles, appointed seventy (or seventy-two) others. He sent them two by two to all the cities and localities that he was later to visit himself. Their names and later lives excited the imagination of Christian writers. Lists of them were compiled, which included the disciples and collaborators of the apostles mentioned in the New Testament.¹¹⁸ They were reputed to have founded, with the Twelve, the first Christian communities and to have become their bishops. Normally their lives ended in martyrdom.

Artists were not clear in their minds whether these personages should be represented as apostles or bishops. For example in the Menologium of Basil II, p. 160, a selection of the seventy apostles presents them all as bishops. On two other occasions, pp. 173, 231, some are dressed as bishops while others wear a tunic. In the same manuscript, p. 107, Philip the deacon, later bishop of Tralles, is represented as an apostle when he converses with the Ethiopian eunuch but, in the same miniature, he appears again as a bishop.¹¹⁹ On p. 131, James, brother of the Lord and first bishop of Jerusalem, is represented in his martyrdom scene as a bishop.¹²⁰ In his case this was normal although not invariable. In the author portraits which illustrate the Epistle attributed to him sometimes he is represented as a bishop, sometimes not.

There exist a few examples in which artists resolved the problem in

118. Th. Scherman, *Propheten- und Apostellegenden nebst Jüngerkatalogen des Dorotheus und verwandten Texte*, Texte und Untersuchungen 31 (Leipzig, 1907); *BHG*, 150–154.

119. 'Philippe Apôtre,' *Dictionnaire de la Bible* V, 267–270; 'Philippe l'Evangéliste,' *ibid.*, 270–272. The confusion between the two Philips had already been made by Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiastica* III.31, ed. G. Bardy (Paris, 1965–1971), 141–142. The confusion passes into art. A scene of the conversion of the eunuch illustrates the Metaphrastic Life of Philip the Apostle, Athos Dochiariou 5, f. 3^v, *Treasures* III, fig. 258. Nicolas Mesarites makes the same mistake, *Holy Apostles*, ed. Downey, 868.

120. James, brother of the Lord, is a well-established figure in Byzantine hagiography. His identity is clear in the New Testament (Matthew 13, 55; Acts 12, 17; 15, 13; 21, 18; Galatians 1, 19). It is maintained by Origen, *Commentarium in Epistolam ad Romanos* I, PG 14, 989, and by Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiastica* I 12, ed. Bardy, I 40, and passes into the Constantinopolitan Synaxary, *Syn CP*, 155–156 (October 23). See also 'Jacques (Epître de saint),' *Dictionnaire de la Bible*, Supplément IV, 792–793, *BHG*, 763y–766i. The others, who were Apostles, James, brother of John and son of Zebedee (Matthew 10, 2), killed by order of Herod (Acts 12, 2), and James, son of Alphaeus (Matthew 10, 3), also have their distinct identity, *Syn CP*, 639–644, 121–122; *BHG*, 767–768, 762–763. However, in the West, James, son of Alphaeus, was sometimes identified with James, brother of the Lord. This confusion may explain why one of the Apostles on the Pala d'Oro in San Marco, Venice, is represented as a bishop, *Tesoro di San Marco* I, no. 34.

an original way. They represented the personage in apostolic dress but added an *omophorion*. Two series of such portraits of the Seventy Apostles are known at Mistra in the Brontochion and the Pantanassa. Lazarus, who later became bishop of Citium or Ephesus, is represented reclining at supper at Bethany in *Paris. graec.* 74, f. 193, again in apostolic dress but also wearing an *omophorion*.¹²¹

3. Non-liturgical costume and accessories

In the miniature just mentioned, *Paris. graec.* 543, f. 288^v (fig. 51), Gregory of Nazianzus, wearing a black mantle, gives back his pastoral staff to the emperor Theodosius, signifying that he has resigned from the see of Constantinople. This scene is an invitation to reopen a question which was, perhaps, begged at the beginning of the chapter. It has been taken for granted that liturgical costume was the means used by Byzantine artists to signify that a personage was a bishop. However, both the literary and iconographical sources make it clear that there were other forms of dress for bishops, which may have been equally distinctive. In the absence of a treatise describing ecclesiastical ceremonies analogous to the *De cerimoniis* or the *De officiis*, it is necessary to rely on other texts, particularly the writings of Balsamon and of Symeon of Thessaloniki.¹²²

i. *Rhabdos*

One accessory was a staff or baton, known as a *rhabdos*, *bakteria* or *dikanikion*. As an episcopal attribute it is first mentioned, with the name *bakteria*, in the Acts of the 4th Council of Constantinople.¹²³

121. Dufrenne, *Mistra*, 10, 43–44, 61, schemas X, XIII; see note 31.

122. Balsamon's *Responses* concerning patriarchal privileges, PG 104, 1077–1081, PG 119, 1161–1177; PG 138, 485–488, 989–1020. Symeon of Thessaloniki, *Opera omnia*, ed. J. Molivdos (Iasi, 1683), reprinted PG 155. Darrouzès, *Offikia*, *passim*.

123. Mansi 16, 97, 357; D. Stiernon, *Constantinople IV* (Paris, 1967), 122. A monograph consecrated to the staff or baton is a desideratum. *Bakteria* is the attribute of the philosopher, Lampe, *Lexicon*, 282. The term is used for the staff of a hegumen by Nilus, *Tractatus de monastico exercitatione*, PG 79, 720. *Rhabdos* is a general word for a baton as a sign of authority, Lampe, *Lexicon*, 1214. It is the word used in the Septuagint for the rod carried by Moses and angels, see note 128, by the Pseudo-Dionysius for angels, see note 129, and by Gregory of Nazianzus for Moses, Homily 45, *In sanctum pascha*, PG 36, 649. Gregory of Nyssa uses these two words indifferently, *Vie de Moïse*, ed. J. Daniélou (Paris, 1955). In late Byzantine texts, the Pseudo-Codinus prefers the term *dikanikion* for the baton as a sign of

When Photius entered for the seventh session, held on October 28, 869, orders were given that his *bakteria* should be taken from him:

It is an emblem of the episcopal dignity to which he has no right, for this man is a wolf and not a pastor.

In the 15th century John Syropoulus alludes to the *dikanikion* carried before the patriarch in procession, adding that the patriarch hid his *dikanikion* when he had his first interview with the Pope.¹²⁴ Balsamon regarded the *rhabdos* as a patriarchal and not an episcopal emblem.¹²⁵ According to the Pseudo-Codinus and Macarius of Ancyra it was conferred on him by the emperor on the occasion of his investiture as patriarch.¹²⁶

A staff or baton is not, however, an attribute uniquely of bishops or the patriarch. It has behind it a long history in both antique and Jewish tradition.¹²⁷ The *bakteria* was an attribute of the philosopher as well as of Moses and angels in the Old Testament.¹²⁸ The Pseudo-Dionysius explains that angels carry a *rhabdos* as a sign of their royal and sovereign power.¹²⁹ Moreover, for the Pseudo-Codinus, it was an attribute of the emperor, archimandrites and *archontes*,¹³⁰ while Syropoulus mentions the *rhabdos* carried by hegumens.¹³¹

It is evident that the *rhabdos* was generally a sign of authority, whether political, religious or doctrinal. The baton carried by Saint Peter in Early Christian art has been interpreted in this sense, as 'a

office, while for Macarius of Ancyra this was a general word, see note 126. Balsamon preferred the term *rhabdos*, see note 122, as did Symeon of Thessaloniki, PG 155, 228–229, 257, 441, while Syropoulus uses *dikanikion*, see notes 124, 131. Klauser considers that the *rhabdos* of the patriarchs was derived from imperial usage, *Bischöflichen Insignien* (note 12), 39 note 47. However it would have early acquired Christian connotations. Symeon of Thessaloniki calls it a sign of the power of the Spirit, conferring the responsibility of governor and guide, and symbolizing the trophy (Cross) of Christ, PG 155, 257. A staff was attributed to the elderly, Der Nersessian, *Theodore Psalter*, fig. 147, and to the infirm, Galavaris, *Gregory Nazianzenus*, figs. 370, 391. It was also an attribute of travellers and messengers, G. Ladner, *I ritratti dei Papi nell' Antichità e nel Medioevo* (Rome, 1941), 247, fig. 24a.

124. Syropoulus, *Mémoires* (note 7), 238, 241.

125. PG 138, 1020.

126. *De officiis*, ed. Verpeaux, 280; V. Laurent, 'Le rituel de l'investiture du patriarche au début du 15^e siècle,' *Bulletin de la section historique de l'Académie roumaine* 28 (1947), 232. Compare Symeon of Thessaloniki, *In sacris ordinationibus* 229, PG 155, 441–444.

127. Martin Dulaey, 'Le symbole de la baguette dans l'art paléochrétien,' *Revue des études augustiniennes* 19 (1973), 3–38.

128. Exodus 4, 17; Judges 6, 21.

129. *La hiérarchie céleste*, ed. R. Roquet, etc. (Paris, 1958), 179.

130. *De officiis*, ed. Verpeaux, 385 (index).

131. Syropoulus, *Mémoires* (note 7), 455.

symbol of the spiritual power conferred on him by Christ'.¹³² The same would be true for the early representations of Moses on sarcophagi and in the catacombs, as well as for the angel in the ivory of the Journey to Bethlehem on the Throne of Maximian, Ravenna.¹³³ In Byzantine art it is sometimes attributed to a hegumen, as, for example, in two death-scenes, that of Marina in the Menologium of Basil II, p. 394, and *Mosquen. graec.* 183, f. 46^v,¹³⁴ and that of Cyprian in Turin University Library CI 6, f. 37^v.¹³⁵ Basil holds a *rhabdos* in *Paris. graec.* 543, f. 213^v, presumably as the founder of Eastern monasticism.¹³⁶ The *rhabdos* is conferred also in scenes of the investiture of a hegumen, in the Theodore Psalter, a liturgical roll now in Leningrad and *Paris. graec.* 74.¹³⁷

In the case of bishops, apart from that of Basil noted above, the person to whom the *rhabdos* is attributed is invariably a patriarch. Moreover, even if he is wearing liturgical vestments, the scene is concerned with his pastoral or doctrinal office. Gregory of Nazianzus caring for the poor holds a *rhabdos* in *Paris. graec.* 543, f. 310^v.¹³⁸ So does Nonnus of Antioch (a patriarchal see), when he receives the conversion of Pelagia in the wall-calendar at Dečani (fig. 29).¹³⁹ The patriarch in the miniature of John Cantacuzenus surrounded by members of the synods of 1351 and 1368 in *Paris. graec.* 1242, f. 5^v, also holds a *rhabdos*.¹⁴⁰

Only one picture has survived of the investiture of a patriarch with the *rhabdos*. In the Madrid Scylitzes, f. 196^v, John the protonotary presents Alexius the Studite with a *rhabdos* on behalf of Basil II; the legend refers to his enthronement as patriarch.¹⁴¹ A similar iconographical formula is used for the miniature of the resignation of Gregory of Nazianzus from the see of Constantinople in *Paris. graec.* 543, f. 288^v (fig. 51), as mentioned above.¹⁴²

132. Dulaey, 'Le symbole de la baguette' (note 127), 34–36.

133. Walter, 'Papal political imagery,' *CA* 21 (1971), 132, fig. 31c.

134. D. K. Treneff & N. D. Popoff, *Miniatures du Ménologe grec du 11^e siècle de la Bibliothèque Synodale à Moscou* (Moscow, 1911).

135. Galavaris, *Gregory Nazianzenus*, fig. 44; Walter, 'Gregory of Nazianzus,' 197–198 (actually a death-scene for Basil?).

136. Galavaris, *op. cit.*, fig. 465.

137. Der Nersessian, *Theodore Psalter*, 59, 71–72, fig. 301; Suzy Dufrenne, 'Deux chefs-d'œuvre de la miniature du 11^e siècle,' *CA* 17 (1967), 177–191.

138. Galavaris, *Gregory Nazianzenus*, fig. 468.

139. Mijović, *Menolog*, pl. 184.

140. Walter, *Conciles*, 70–73, fig. 33.

141. Grabar & Manoussacas, *Skylitzès*, no. 480; see below, 136.

142. See note 114.

Thus, even if Byzantine artists rarely attributed a *rhabdos* to a bishop, they did so with sufficient consistency for its significance to be clear.

ii. *Head-dress*

Although Balsamon might have liked the patriarchs of Constantinople to emulate the popes of Rome by wearing a tiara, he says explicitly that only the patriarch of Alexandria had the right to celebrate the liturgy with his head covered.¹⁴³ In consequence bishops are normally represented, when wearing liturgical vestments, with their heads bare. Exceptions were made for Cyril of Alexandria from the 9th century (fig. 6), for popes, and for a few other bishops whose head-dress was definitely a personal attribute.¹⁴⁴

However bishops did wear a head-dress on other ceremonial occasions; it was black if they had been monks before their elevation and white if they had been laymen (fig. 2).¹⁴⁵ There were occasional exceptions such as when John XIV Calecas entered Saint Sophia to crown John V Palaeologus, scandalising people by wearing an elaborate *kalyptra* decorated with portraits of Christ, the Virgin and John the Baptist.¹⁴⁶ A few iconographical examples of non-liturgical head-dress may be cited. The bishops who surround John Cantacuzenus in the miniature mentioned above have black bonnets, so that they had, presumably, been monks before their elevation.¹⁴⁷ Jakov of Serrai had been hegumen of the monastery of the Archangels near Prizren before his elevation, so that his cap, correctly, is not white either in the portrait in *Londin*. Additional 39626, f. 292^v.¹⁴⁸ On the other hand Elias of Crete in *Basileensis graec.* ANI8, f. C^v, wears a white cap,¹⁴⁹ as does Moses of Novgorod in the donor portrait at Volotovo.¹⁵⁰

143. Balsamon, PG 119, 1177; PG 137, 488; Symeon of Thessaloniki, PG 155, 716–717, 871–872; Walter, 'Jakov of Serres,' 65–69.

144. See below, 104–106.

145. In his unpublished eulogy of John Xiphilinus, Tornices expresses pleasure that there should at last be a patriarch without a black bonnet (i.e. not a monk), *Scorial.* I.2.10, ff. 343–350 (reference supplied by J. Darrouzès). John Cantacuzenus insisted that a white bonnet was normal for a patriarch, see note 146.

146. John Cantacuzenus, *Historia* III 36, ed. Bonn II, 218; PG 153, 909.

147. See note 140; Walter, 'Jakov of Serres,' 68, fig. 10.

148. *Ibid.*, fig. 1 (actually his vestment and bonnet are blue).

149. *Ibid.*, fig. 9.

150. *Ibid.*, fig. 12.

At a later date Byzantine bishops would affect the mitre, but not, apparently, before Cyril Loukaris, hitherto patriarch of Alexandria, was translated to Constantinople in the 17th century.¹⁵¹

iii. *Mantle*

It is difficult to know whether the *mandyas*, a kind of mantle, should be classified as a ceremonial garment or as a part of episcopal 'mufti'.¹⁵² It could be elaborate, decorated with *potamoi* and *pomata*, squares of coloured material stitched on to its extremities as signs of the episcopal dignity.¹⁵³ When Macarius of Ancyra and Matthew of Media were deposed by a synod in 1409, they detached the *pomata* from their *mandyas* and sent them to the judges in protest.¹⁵⁴ This elaborate *mandyas* does not figure in iconography. The nearest approximation seems to be that worn by Danilo of Serbia in a donor portrait in the church of the Bogorodica, Peć (before 1337).¹⁵⁵ It has a rich pattern woven into the material while the lower part is decorated with three continuous bands.

On the other hand bishops are frequently represented wearing a dark, plain mantle. This is a regular alternative to liturgical vestments for Gregory of Nazianzus in illuminated manuscripts of his homilies, particularly when he is represented as a doctor seated at a writing desk.¹⁵⁶ It was also, no doubt, their normal dress for travel. John Chrysostom is dressed this way in the miniature which illustrates the commemoration of his departure in exile in the Menologium of Basil II, p. 178. Bishops wear the same mantle in representations of synods in the Madrid Scylitzes.¹⁵⁷ Moreover, if iconography may be cited in evidence, the patriarch Theophylact took off his vestments when he left the sanctuary of Sancta Sophia during the liturgy to visit a favourite mare which had just foaled. He is represented at the stud farm wearing a mantle and a cap.¹⁵⁸

151. D. Moraites, 'Amphia (Mitra)' (in Greek), *ThEE* 2, 411–412.

152. Ducange, *Glossarium*, 1199–1200; *De officiis*, ed. Verpeaux, 283; PG 155, 257, 712.

153. Laurent, 'Le rituel de l'investiture' (note 126), 231; 'Trisépiscopat', 50; Symeon of Thessaloniki, PG 155, 257, 712.

154. Laurent, 'Trisépiscopat', 6, 50, 125, 130.

155. Djurić, *Vizantijske Freske*, pl. 55.

156. Galavaris, *Gregory Nazianzenus*, figs. 61, 98, 275, 377, 470, 477.

157. Walter, *Conciles*, 43–47, figs. 11–14.

158. Grabar & Manoussacas, *Skylitzès*, no. 341.

4. General conclusion: A semiological analysis

When Delehay and de Jerphanion published their pioneering studies, the terms 'characteristic' and 'attribute' were adequate to define the distinctive elements of dress in iconography. They have also proved useful in this chapter. Since their time linguistic studies have developed, and the methods and conclusions of scholars in this field have been exploited in a science, still in its infancy, known as semiology. A semiological analysis of a 'closed' network of signs, such as the *Highway Code*, is relatively easy. However, some scholars have rightly been sceptical about the possibility of extending the methods of semiology to the fine arts, in which the significative value of pictures may be subordinate in the artist's mind to stylistic or aesthetic considerations. Since this was not usually the case with Byzantine art, semiological analysis may be profitably applied to it.¹⁵⁹

The significative unit—the bishop in his vestments—can be considered as a term denoting a species within a genus; it has common elements with other species but is also distinct from them. The term comes into being and is modified in a historical context. At the beginning artists were not required to represent bishops as such. Dress in the Rotonda of Saint George serves only to distinguish civilians from warriors or courtiers,¹⁶⁰ while at Sant'Apollinare Nuovo it is used to distinguish martyrs from the Virgin and Christ. Here, however, there is an anomaly, for one bishop in the cortège, Martin of Tours, was not a martyr.

The iconographical development of the significative unit has as its starting point rather the pictures of civilians in the Rotonda. The 'root' of the term—the *paenula*—becomes a 'suffix' (an intrinsic element of the term), when the *omophorion* becomes the 'root' of a

159. Since Byzantine art is conceptualist and disposes of a repertory of iconographical types, it lends itself to this kind of analysis. It is assumed that a sign may be broken down into two parts, one 'signifying' and the other 'signified'. There are then distinguished in the 'signifying' four possible elements, named here, by analogy with grammar: root, suffix (particle introducing an intrinsic modification), prefix (particle introducing an extrinsic modification), reduplication (redundant particle stressing the significance of the root). For earlier applications and appreciations of semiological method, see my articles: 'Clergy in the Theodore Psalter,' esp. 241–242; 'Gregory of Nazianzus,' esp. 191–192, and my review of *La vision de Matthieu* by Y. Christe, *REB* 33 (1975), 330–332.

160. A.-Ph. Lagoulos & A. Joannides, 'Sémiotique picturale. Analyse d'une mosaïque byzantine,' *Semiotica* 21 (1977), 1–2, 75–109, attempt a semiological analysis of the whole mosaic decoration of this church.

new species—the bishop—within the genus civilian. The root remains constant throughout the history of the significative term, although it may be that, with the passage of time, its connotations change. There are reasons for supposing that the original connotations of the *omophorion* were, like those of the *paenula*, civil, for, at the time of its introduction as a distinctive episcopal vestment, the Byzantine Church had not yet developed an autonomous ideology; it still accepted that of the whole of Christendom, of the emperor as supreme governor of the inhabited world.

The significative unit receives, together with its root and suffix, a 'prefix' (an extrinsic element of the term). This is the book which bishops already hold in the earliest representations of them wearing an *omophorion*. The history of this prefix can only be briefly indicated here.¹⁶¹ Like the roll it is a sign of doctrine, which early acquires specialized Christian connotations, those of the Gospel Book, so that, placed by a throne or on an altar, it signifies, like a fish for Neptune, the presence of Christ. It is then used, with the connotations of Christian doctrine, as a prefix for Christ himself, and for the apostles and other Christian teachers. It is a prefix constantly added to the significative term for bishops, both in portraits and in ceremonial scenes such as the invention of the relics of the Forty Martyrs, in which it is attributed to Peter of Sebaste.¹⁶² Omitted in representations of simoniac ordinations and replaced by a dish of coins, its absence signifies that the bishops in question were not purveyors of true doctrine.¹⁶³ Thus the earliest iconographical term for bishop signifies that the personage is a civilian, an ecclesiastical functionary, who has inherited the doctrinal office of Christ and the apostles.

Since the *epitrachelion*, *epimanikia* and *epigonation* are vestments and not attributes, they cannot be compared with prefixes. Nor, strictly, are they suffixes, for they do not directly modify the significant type even though their absence may suggest that it is defective. They may be considered analogous to reduplicative particles. By reason of their explicit liturgical connotations, they call attention to the fact that the significative unit as a whole has undergone a modification in meaning. Introduced at a time when the

161. Walter, *Conciles*, 235–239; 'Clergy in the Theodore Psalter,' 240–241; K. Wessel, 'Buchrolle,' *RBK I*, 784–785.

162. Walter, 'Clergy in the Theodore Psalter,' fig. 7.

163. *Ibid.*, fig. 6.

liturgy was acquiring an increasing importance in the life of the Church, which was asserting its autonomy relative to imperial institutions, they help to define the bishop as a person whose principal function is to preside at ecclesiastical ceremonies.

Concomitantly the *phelonion* loses its civil connotations. It acquires a specialized form as an ecclesiastical vestment. In some contexts it too may be compared to a reduplicative particle. Thus its absence in some pictures of the Seventy Apostles does not imply, if they are attributed an *omophorion*, that they are not bishops, though in their case it might be argued that the 'root' of the significative unit is their apostolic tunic and the *omophorion* a prefix. On the other hand, when demons 'unfrock' bishops in hell by removing their *polystavrion* in the Last Judgment scene at Saint Demetrius, Mistra, this evidently signifies their destitution.¹⁶⁴ In fact the *phelonion* has meanwhile acquired a new function in the significative unit. It serves, with the *polystavrion*, to distinguish subspecies of bishop; it thus becomes a suffix with a new meaning. The *sakkos*, being a different kind of vestment, implies a greater distinction than the addition of crosses to the *phelonion*, a merely analytical modification.

Synonyms for this significative unit hardly exist in Byzantine iconography. This absence contrasts with what the literary sources recount. If there are no pictures of a patriarch sporting a Deësis on his head-dress, nor of a *chartophylax* with a tiara riding on a mule bedecked with a white cloth, nor even of *archontes stavrophoroi*, this may be because so few pictures portraying daily life in Byzantine society have survived.¹⁶⁵ The rare examples suggest that the practice of Byzantine artists when representing bishops was in conformity with their general rule of limiting their lexicon to the minimum number of significative units necessary to render pictures significative. It has been claimed that the pictures illustrating the Madrid Skylitzes are in accordance with the iconographical principles which prevail in other genres of manuscript illustration.¹⁶⁶ In the group portrait of John Cantacuzenus, surrounded by courtiers and clergy, which was executed in his lifetime, the bishops are represented in the same way as elsewhere. The examples which have been adduced earlier of bishops as writers or in 'mufti' or, exceptionally, as a

164. Millet, *Mistra*, pl. 81 ii.

165. Darrouzès, *Offikia*, 60, 186.

166. Grabar & Manoussacas, *Skylitzès*, 132-133.

donor, suggest that on these occasions the artist was not intent to render his portrait significant independently of its context.

When a head-dress is added to the significant unit, it may be considered either as a prefix or a suffix. It is a prefix when it signifies that the bishop wearing it was, before consecration, a civilian (when it is white) or a monk (when it is black). It is a suffix when it adds a precision as to the identity of the bishop in question. Possibly it may be considered to constitute a sub-species in the case of patriarchs of Alexandria or popes of Rome. When the attribute is personal, as in the case of Methodius or Spyridon, it may be considered to have effected a change analogous to that of turning a common into a proper noun.

The *rhados* is also a prefix, which, like the Gospel book, introduces the personage to whom it is attributed into another genus. However, as a sign, it is polyvalent. Only when the personage is already defined as a patriarch does it become clear that the staff which he holds has connotations of authority.

It is hardly necessary to insist upon the halo, the prefix which affirms that the bishop to whom it is attributed is a member of the Church triumphant.¹⁶⁷ In succeeding chapters it will be explained how he acquired his membership, and how the Church triumphant was presented to those who were still members of the terrestrial Church.

167. According to Symeon of Thessaloniki, *Responsa ad Gabrielem Pentapolitanum, Quaestio 18*, PG 155, 869, the nimbus on icons of saints signifies the eternal grace and power of God.

CHAPTER TWO

OFFICE AND CEREMONY IN BYZANTINE ILLUMINATED MANUSCRIPTS

In the introduction to this book a distinction was made between the iconographical themes and programmes which reflect the devotional life of the Byzantine Church, particularly as it was expressed in the cult of the dead and of saints, and those which reflect official teaching on the Church's function in the divine providential plan. The first kind of theme and programme is more easily studied in relation to miniature painting, the second in relation to church decoration. The distinction is not hard and fast. Many devotional themes are found in churches and probably originated in the decorative programmes of shrines. Equally the influence of official teaching may be observed in the choice of subjects for some kinds of manuscript. Moreover it is evident that artists drew for all media on a common fund of iconographical types, which were probably registered in pattern books, although this can only be inferred because no Byzantine pattern book has survived.¹

It is paradoxical that, although miniature painters enjoyed more liberty in their choice of subjects, because manuscripts were intended to be seen only by officiants in cult or the private persons who commissioned them, they were in general more conservative than church decorators. The explanation of this conservatism is to be sought in the rigid conventions of book illumination. These conventions mostly derive from antique practice. Ordinarily each book had, as a frontispiece, an author portrait or dedicatory picture. For the illustration of the text there were three possibilities. By far the most common practice was to use a single picture to sum up the content of integral parts of the text: a book of the Bible, a homily,

1. H. Buchthal, *The 'Musterbuch' of Wolfenbüttel and its Position in the Art of the 13th Century* (Vienna, 1979).

the Life or commemoration of a saint. The second was to illustrate passages of the text directly by narrative scenes. The third was to use pictures to explain or comment on the text. This last method exploited the greatest variety of iconographical material, although limits were again imposed by the conventions of book illumination. Miniature painters rarely created a new picture, preferring to copy or adapt one which already existed.²

Most surviving Byzantine illuminated manuscripts date from the 9th, 11th and 12th centuries. The study of their illustration has been particularly assiduous in recent decades. Scholars have succeeded in reconstructing, from anomalies and archaisms in surviving illuminated manuscripts, some of the lost models and archetypes, and consequently have been able to form an idea of what the products of the pre-Iconoclast period and the 10th-century 'Macedonian Renaissance' would have been like. The fruits of their scholarship are largely exploited in the present chapter. Nevertheless, the enquiry here proceeds along different lines.

The centuries from which most Byzantine illuminated manuscripts date are those in which the Church became ever increasingly aware of the importance of religious ceremonial in its life, and of the function of bishops not only as officiants in ceremonies, but also as teachers and defenders of orthodox doctrine. The importance of the teaching office of bishops is already apparent in 9th-century homily and Psalter illustration. The influence of renewal in ceremonial on manuscript illumination is more difficult to assess.

The Constantinopolitan Synaxary, the calendar of liturgical commemorations, was established in the 9th century. It provided the occasion for preparing new editions of sacred books. In the Lectionary, Gospel texts were redistributed in the order of their reading through the liturgical year. Lives of saints and the homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus were later redistributed in the same order. However the opportunities which these new editions provided for artists to create new iconographical themes were not exploited in the same way in illustrating different texts. In the 11th century two other texts were illustrated for the first time, the novel Barlaam and

2. General presentations: Weitzmann, *Roll and Codex*; *idem*, 'The Selection of Texts for Cyclic Illustration in Byzantine Manuscripts,' *Byzantine Books and Bookmen* (Dumbarton Oaks, 1975), 69-109, reprinted in *Book Illuminations and Ivories*; *idem*, 'The Study of Byzantine Book Illumination, Past, Present and Future,' *The Place of Book Illumination in Byzantine Art*, ed. G. Vikan (Princeton, 1975), 1-60, reprinted *Book Illuminations*; Kl. Wessel, 'Buchillustration,' *RBK I*, 757-784.

Joasaph and the liturgical roll. Artists then showed greater inventiveness, which has its parallel in the illuminated Psalters of the same century. This inventiveness is manifest not only in ceremonial scenes but also in those which illustrate the doctrinal office of bishops.

While it is generally recognized that development in the Byzantine Church is reflected in the choice of subjects for manuscript illustration, the subject has not, as yet, been the object of a detailed study. An attempt is made here to correct this omission. The method used is to establish the incidence of pictures concerned with bishops and religious ceremonies in the different kinds of illuminated texts. This method necessitates the assembly of a tedious amount of detailed information. However some compensation is afforded by the fact that, at the end, a basic repertory of the pictures in question will have been constituted. It is then possible to proceed directly, in the two following chapters, to a discussion of the iconography of religious ceremonies and of the scenes in which bishops are performing other functions attached to their office. Author portraits and other frontispieces are treated first, because they are common to all kinds of texts. There follow paragraphs on chronicles, Barlaam and Joasaph, Lives of saints, liturgical calendars, Old and New Testament, liturgical books, homilies and theological treatises.

1. Frontispieces

Frontispieces generally include an author portrait. If the text is a commentary, then the commentator may also figure there. Other personages represented in a frontispiece are the saintly patron of the author, the donor, and, in the case of letters, the recipient.

The tradition of providing a portrait of the author dates back to Antiquity. It continues in Early Christian usage, notably in manuscripts of the Gospels.³ Portraits of saintly bishops, the doctors of the Church, seated before a lectern or a writing desk are common, particularly of John Chrysostom and Gregory of Nazianzus; they are obviously modelled on those of the Evangelists.⁴ The frontal

3. A. M. Friend, 'The Portraits of the Evangelists in Greek and Latin Manuscripts,' *Art Studies* 5 (1927), 115-150.

4. H. Buchthal, 'A Byzantine Miniature of the Fourth Evangelist and its Relatives,' *DOP* 15 (1961), 127-139; *idem*, 'Some Notes on Byzantine Hagiographical Portraiture,' *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 62 (1963), 81-90; Galavaris, *Gregory Nazianzenus*, 19-23; Walter, 'Gregory of Nazianzus,' 201-202.

seated portrait of an author is less common; an example occurs in the *Chronicle* of Constantine Manasses in Vienna.⁵ Occasionally the author is standing, as is the case with James, represented as a bishop, at the head of his Epistle in manuscripts of the New Testament or of the *Apostoleion*.⁶

By extension since the author was often also a preacher or teacher, pictures exist, again particularly of John Chrysostom and Gregory of Nazianzus, in which he is represented either seated amid his disciples or standing before an audience.⁷ These pictures may serve as frontispieces to individual homilies, accompanied by a representation of the subject of the homily in question. In liturgical rolls, the reputed author of the liturgy, Basil of Caesarea or John Chrysostom, is sometimes represented at the beginning, standing behind an altar.⁸

In manuscripts of commentaries, the commentator accompanies the author. John Chrysostom may be represented seated beside Saint Paul, or, more often, after a well known incident in his biography, being inspired by Saint Paul.⁹ He also accompanies Theodoret and Oecumenius in the frontispiece to their *Commentaries* on Saint Paul's Epistles, since they were his disciples (fig. 10).¹⁰ In the frontispiece to the *Homilies* of James of Coccinobaphus, the author's debt to Gregory of Nyssa and John Chrysostom is acknowledged in a similar way. The two bishops are seated beside their lecterns, while James of Coccinobaphus makes a *proskynesis*.¹¹ In the frontispiece to his *Commentary* on the homilies

5. *Vindobon. hist. graec.* 91, f. 1, Walter, 'Jakoŭ of Serres,' 69, fig. 11.

6. A. Baumstark, 'Zum stehenden Autorenbild der byzantinischen Buchmalerei,' *Oriens Christianus* N.S. 3 (1913), 305-310; Sirarpie der Nersessian, 'The Praxapostolos of the Walters Art Gallery,' *Gatherings in Honor of Dorothy E. Miner*, ed. Ursula E. McCracken, etc. (Baltimore, 1974), 43, fig. 1, with references to other examples.

7. A single example of Basil has survived in the 13th-century manuscript of his *Ascetical treatise*, Copenhagen Kongelige Bibliotek, cod. 1343, f. 1, Mackeprang, *Danish Collections*, pl. 2; and of Clement of Rome, Athos Lavra 71 D, f. 90, *Treasures* III, fig. 120.

8. These portraits may be a simple bust: *Paris. suppl. graec.* 468 (13th century), *Byzance et France médiévale*, ed. J. Porcher & Marie-Louise Concasty (Paris, 1958), no. 81; Patmos 2 (708), G. Jacopi, 'Le miniature dei codici di Patmos,' *Clara Rhodos* 6-7 (1932), fig. 148; Patmos 22 (728), *ibid.*, fig. 160. They may be frontal: Patmos 14 (720), *ibid.*, fig. 156. They may be developed liturgical pictures: *Athen.* 2759 (13th century), *Byzantine Art an European Art*, Exhibition catalogue (Athens, 1964), no. 358; Patmos 1 (707), *ibid.*, no. 359, and Jacopi, 'Le miniature,' pl. 23.

9. See below, 102-103.

10. Walter, 'Three Hierarchs,' 257, pl. 3 ii.

11. *Ibid.*, pl. 2. Reproduced earlier by H. Omont, *Bulletin de la société française de reproductions de manuscrits à peintures* 11 (Paris, 1927).

of Gregory of Nazianzus, Elias of Crete is represented writing on the lower end while Gregory writes on the upper end of the same roll (fig. 9).¹² In the frontispiece to his *Amphilocia*, Photius stands to the left of a lectern, while Amphilocius is seated to the right.¹³ Thus, in representing a commentator, artists used various means of signifying his relationship of dependence. It might be banal, as in the frontispiece to the 10th-century manuscript of the Prophecies of Isaiah, *Vatican. graec. 755*, in which the authors of the accompanying catenae are represented in clipeate portraits around the full-length portrait of the prophet (fig. 8).¹⁴

A florilegium, containing hundreds of extracts from different writers, gave considerable scope for author portraits, witness the 9th-century *Sacra Parallela*, *Paris. graec. 923*.¹⁵ However in most cases the artists were content to provide simple bust or clipeate portraits. Author portraits also occur occasionally in volumes of Lives of Saints: Arethas for his *Encomium* of the martyrs of Edessa, Athos Vatopediou 456, f. 240,¹⁶ Andrew of Crete for his homily on Lazarus, Messina San Salvatore 27, f. 238,¹⁷ and Gregory of Nyssa for his homily on Gregory the Wonderworker, *Paris. graec. 580*, f. 2^v.¹⁸

Bishops do not often figure as saintly patrons in a frontispiece. Two examples may be cited. In the Leo Bible the donors are represented prostrate at the feet of Nicolas of Myra.¹⁹ In a more complex scene, now bound at the end of a Gospel book, Athos Iviron 5, f. 456^v–457, the Virgin presents John, the donor, to Christ and intercedes for him, while his patron saint, John Chrysostom, stands beside Christ, pen in hand, inscribing Christ's favorable answer on a roll.²⁰

There seems to be only one example of a bishop as donor. In the

12. Walter, 'Commentaire enluminé,' 117–118, fig. 3.

13. Lavra 449, f. 0^v, Weitzmann, *Byzantinische Buchmalerei*, 56, fig. 372.

14. *Vatican. graec. 755*, f. 1; A. Muñoz, *I codici greci miniati delle minori biblioteche di Roma* (Rome, 1906), 24, fig. 6; Weitzmann, *Byzantinische Buchmalerei*, 12.

15. Weitzmann, *Sacra Parallela*, *passim*.

16. Weitzmann, *Byzantinische Buchmalerei*, 20–21, figs. 140–141.

17. Ch. Diehl, 'Notice sur deux manuscrits à miniatures de la bibliothèque de l'Université de Messine', *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* 8 (1888), 319–322.

18. Omont, *Miniatures*, 49–50, pl. 102.

19. *Vatican. reg. graec. 1*, f. 3, *Miniature della Bibbia cod. Vat. Reg. graeco 1...* (Milan, 1905), 1; Spitharakis, *Portrait*, 7–14, fig. 2; T. Mathews, 'The epigrams of Leo Sacellarius and an exegetical approach to the miniatures of Vat. Reg. 1,' *OCP* 43 (1977), 94–134.

20. Belting, *Das illuminierte Buch*, 84–87, fig. 53–54.

Gospel book *London*. Additional 39626, f. 292^v, Jakov of Serrai who commissioned it, stands at a lectern, on which is presumably placed the Gospel book in question.²¹ However, saintly bishops are sometimes portrayed presenting their text to the person who commissioned it. Thus, in *Paris. Coislin*. 79, f. 2^v, John Chrysostom presents his homilies to the emperor.²² Similarly, in Athos Dionysiou 61, f. 1^v, Gregory of Nazianzus presents his homilies to a noble personage.²³

Two special cases should be noted. One is the *Panoplia dogmatica* of Euthymius Zigabenus, of which two illuminated manuscripts exist: *Vatican. graec.* 666, which must date from the reign of Alexius Comnenus (1081–1118), f. 1^v–2, and an inferior copy, *Mosquen. graec.* 387, f. 5^v–6.²⁴ The doctors whose writings are cited in the text present these writings to the emperor, while Christ blesses from the sky (fig. 11).²⁵ Thus author portraits, including seven bishops, are combined with a donor portrait in a single composition. The other is the 14th-century manuscript of the writings of John Cantacuzenus, *Paris. graec.* 1242, containing four miniatures.²⁶ It is possibly incomplete, and all these miniatures may not be in their original place to-day. In the group portrait, f. 5^v, in which the author is surrounded by bishops, monks and members of his court, the members of the clergy figure rather as the theologians who took part in the synods held during his reign. The seated portrait of Gregory of Nazianzus, f. 123, may have been inspired by the frequent citations from his writings in the text.²⁷ It has been suggested that there were

21. Walter, 'Jakov of Serres,' 65–72; Spatharakis, *Portrait*, 89–90, fig. 57. There are two Armenian donor portraits with no exact Byzantine equivalent in which the episcopal donor John, brother of king Het'um I, is represented in the Gospel books executed for him conferring the sacrament of order: Freer Gallery of Art cod. 56.11, f. 293 (dated 1263), Sirarpie Der Nersessian, *Armenian manuscripts in the Freer Gallery of Art* (Washington, 1963), 64–65, fig. 195; Erevan cod. 197 (dated 1287), Lydia Durnovo, *Miniatures arméniennes* (Paris, 1960), 115.

22. Omont, *Miniatures*, 32–34, pl. 64; Spatharakis *Portrait*, 107–118, pl. 72.

23. Galavaris, *Gregory Nazianzenus*, 205–207, fig. 355; Spatharakis, *Portrait*, 118–121, pl. 77.

24. Spatharakis, *Portrait*, 122–129, fig. 78–79, 83–84.

25. John Chrysostom, Cyril of Alexandria, Gregory of Nazianzus, Gregory of Nyssa, Basil of Caesarea, Athanasius of Alexandria, Dionysius the Areopagite.

26. Omont, *Miniatures*, 58–59, pl. 126,1; E. Voordeckers, 'Examen codicologique du codex Parisinus graecus 1242,' *Scriptorium* 21 (1967), 288–294; Walter, *Conciles*, 70–73. Art historians persist in calling this picture a synod. Strictly it is a group portrait, conceived as a teaching scene, of the theologians who took part in the synods held during the reign of John Cantacuzenus.

27. Omont, *Miniatures*, pl. 127,1; Voordeckers, 'Examen codicologique,' 289.

once further miniatures in this manuscript portraying other doctors of the Church.²⁸

Other conventions existed for the frontispiece to a letter. In the 9th-century Ambrosian manuscript of the *Homilies* of Gregory of Nazianzus, which includes the text of letters sent by Gregory to Cledonius, the writer is represented despatching the letter and the recipient accepting it.²⁹ In the 12th-century (?) *Praxapostolos*, Baltimore Walters Art Gallery cod. 533, Timothy, dressed as a bishop, accompanies Saint Paul in illustration to the Epistles addressed to him.³⁰

Since the frontispiece is strictly functional, the presence of bishops in it requires no special explanation. However, it provides evidence of the principal roles attributed to bishops: writers, teachers, preachers, celebrants of the liturgy. As writers they were not always represented in liturgical costume. On the other hand apostles, when they were traditionally believed to have been bishops, could be represented wearing episcopal dress.

2. Chronicles

No illuminated Byzantine chronicle has survived.³¹ There exist only fragments of a 7th-century Alexandrian World Chronicle in the Pushkin Museum, Moscow, the 13th-century Russian copy of the 9th-century *Chronicle* of Hamartolus, the 12th-century South Italian copy of the 11th-century *Chronicle* of Scylitzes and the 14th-century Bulgarian copy of the 12th-century *Chronicle* of Manasses. It has been argued that there existed at an early date illuminated versions of the *Chronicles* of Sozomenus, Theodoret and Malalas.³² However, it does not seem that a tradition of chronicle illustration existed at Constantinople analogous to that which can be shown to exist for some genres of religious texts.

The chronicle is the only genre of illuminated manuscript in

28. Voordeckers, *art. cit.*, 289 note 5.

29. Grabar, *Grégoire de Nazianze*, pls. 59 i & ii, 61.

30. Der Nersessian, 'The Praxapostolos' (note 6), 45–48, figs. 8–11, ff. 239, 255^v, 262^v, 287.

31. A. Grabar, 'L'art profane à Byzance,' *Actes du 14^e congrès international d'études byzantines I* (Bucharest, 1974), 330–334, reprinted in *L'art paléochrétien et l'art byzantin* (London, 1979).

32. K. Weitzmann, 'Illustrations for the Chronicles of Sozomenus, Theodoret and Malalas,' *Byz* 16 (1942–1943), 87–134, reprinted in *Book Illuminations and Ivories*; *idem*, *Roll and Codex*, *passim*.

which figure bishops whose character is not specifically religious. However, since the Church was an integral part of Byzantine society, its history assumes a certain importance. In the *Alexandrian Chronicle* the death and succession of the local patriarchs were events to be recorded.³³ Three miniatures illustrating the episcopate of Theophilus of Alexandria (319–327) have survived: the death of his predecessor Timothy, illustrated by a mummy, his accession, illustrated by the patriarch enthroned (fig. 36), and the destruction of the Serapeion. For this a triumphal picture has been used: Theophilus is portrayed standing on the temple.³⁴

Of the published miniatures in the *Chronicle* of Hamartolus, only one portrays a bishop; in the scene of Ambrose of Milan rebuking the emperor Theodosius I.³⁵

Far richer is the documentation provided by the Madrid Scylitzes with its 574 miniatures.³⁶ The chronicle is divided according to the reigns of emperors, but, again, the death or deposition and the succession of patriarchs of Constantinople were events to be recorded. The narrative is sometimes interrupted to interpolate a recital probably recopied integrally from another text.

The miniatures in the first part, ff. 10–87^v, covering the period from the accession of Michael I in 811 to the death of Michael III in 867, and executed by copyists familiar with the Byzantine style, are probably closer to the original. No full study has as yet been undertaken as to how the artists set to work. However, it may be suggested tentatively that, although the text for most of this period follows that of Theophanes Continuatus closely, an illustrated manuscript of his chronicle was not available as a model. For some interpolated recitals, for example the Passion of Lazarus the icon-painter and the Legend of Basil I, the artists may have copied from an illustrated text. However, most often, they executed each

33. Bauer & Strzygowski, *Alexandrische Weltchronik*; O. Kurz, 'The date of the Alexandrian World Chronicle,' *Kunsthistorische Forschungen, Otto Pächt zu seinem 70. Geburtstag*, ed. A. Rosenbauer & G. Weber (Salzburg, 1972), 22, proposing a date at the end of the 7th century.

34. Bauer & Strzygowski, *op. cit.*, 121–122, pl. VI^{1–v}; J. Favre, 'Alexandrie,' *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques* II, 319–323.

35. Moscow, Lenin State Library, f. 173, no. 100, f. 244^v, Olga Podobedova, *Miniatures of Russian Historical Manuscripts* (in Russian), (Moscow, 1965), fig. 12.

36. S. C. Estopañan, *Skylitzes matritensis I, Reproducciones y miniaturas*, Barcelona/Madrid, 1965; *Ioannis Scylitzae Synopsis historiarum*, ed. J. Thurn (Berlin/New York, 1973); N. G. Wilson, 'The Madrid Scylitzes,' *Scrittura e civiltà* 2 (1978), 209–219; Grabar & Manoussacas, *Skylitzès*. References are given by number to the catalogue of miniatures in the last-named work, where each entry gives a reference to the works of Estopañan and Thurn.

miniature *ad hoc*, using with a minimum of adaptation the equivalent of a *Musterbuch*.³⁷ In many cases their iconographical types were conventional narrative scenes, which are not relevant to the present study. On the other hand, for ceremonies, the Madrid Skylitzes provides in abundance examples of scenes, which, if they occur in other genres, may do so less frequently.

Some of these scenes belong to imperial iconography: Michael I Rhangabe and the patriarch Nicephorus enthroned together,³⁸ the promulgation of the destruction of icons by the patriarch Theodotus Melissenus,³⁹ the 'advent' of the emperor Theophilus at Blachernae,⁴⁰ a procession with the relic of the True Cross,⁴¹ the tonsure of the empress Theodora,⁴² as well as imperial audiences,⁴³ coronations⁴⁴ and marriages.⁴⁵ Others are more strictly religious: the Passions of saints of the second Iconoclasm,⁴⁶ and, more particularly, baptism,⁴⁷ the consecration of patriarchs⁴⁸ and death scenes.⁴⁹ There is also an interpolated recital concerning the calumny of the patriarch Methodius, for which, however, the miniatures seem to have been made expressly for the original of the Madrid Skylitzes.⁵⁰

The miniatures in the second part, ff. 96–226^v, covering the period from the accession of Basil I in 867 to the reign of Constantine IX (1042–1055), are by a variety of hands, all of which betray Western influence. It seems, again, that the original miniatures would have closely followed a *Musterbuch*. However, for the detail as well as the style, there is more variety than in the first part. In ceremonies, for example, the consecration of Alexius the Studite is replaced by his investiture with the *rhabdos*,⁵¹ while, for the marriage of Michael IV the Paphlagonian, the spouses wear a veil and make the gesture of

37. Walter, 'Saints of Second Iconoclasm,' 316–318.

38. Grabar & Manoussacas, *Skylitzès*, no. 1, f. 10.

39. *Ibid.*, no. 37, f. 21^v.

40. *Ibid.*, no. 96, f. 43.

41. *Ibid.*, no. 67, f. 33.

42. *Ibid.*, no. 177, f. 71^v.

43. *Ibid.*, no. 156, f. 63^v.

44. *Ibid.*, nos. 196, 197, f. 80^{r-v}.

45. *Ibid.*, nos. 127, 215, ff. 53^r, 87.

46. *Ibid.*, nos. 113–123, ff. 49–51^v; Walter, 'Saints of Second Iconoclasm,' 307–318.

47. Grabar & Manoussacas, *Skylitzès*, no. 171, f. 68^v.

48. *Ibid.*, nos. 35, 137, 158, 188, ff. 21, 57, 64, 76^v.

49. *Ibid.*, nos. 92, 125, ff. 42, 52^v.

50. *Ibid.*, nos. 162–167, ff. 65^v–67; Walter, 'Saints of Second Iconoclasm,' 311–316.

51. Grabar & Manoussacas, *Skylitzès*, no. 480, f. 196^v.

the *dextrarum junctio*.⁵² Both are authentically Byzantine, but do not occur in the first part of the manuscript. Similarly, for the baptism of the Russian princess Olga a scene of conversion is substituted, a practice which has analogies elsewhere in Byzantine tradition.⁵³ On the other hand the scene of the Translation of the hand of John the Baptist, in which a cleric holds the reliquary on his head, differs from the conventional iconography of Translations.⁵⁴

Besides the ceremonial scenes which already occur in the first part—coronations, marriages, baptisms, consecrations of patriarchs, tonsures and deaths—there are some which, being unique, are difficult to exploit in the present study: the conversion of the Russians,⁵⁵ the episode of the foaling of the patriarch Theophylact's mare,⁵⁶ the refusal of communion to Nicephorus Phocas,⁵⁷ the restitution of stolen crosses to Nicephorus Phocas,⁵⁸ the denial of access to Saint Sophia to John Tzimisces,⁵⁹ and a procession with an icon.⁶⁰

By comparison, the Bulgarian version of the *Chronicle* of Manasses is far less rich in religious subjects.⁶¹ Of those which probably figured in the Byzantine original, there are only three ecumenical councils⁶² and the veneration of an icon.⁶³ The death-scene of Ivan Asen, son of the Bulgarian Tsar,⁶⁴ as well as the baptism of the Russians and Bulgarians are not Byzantine in origin,⁶⁵ although, iconographically, they depend on Byzantine models.

It is not possible to generalize about chronicle illustration solely from a consideration of the subjects in which bishops occur. However, for these, in so far as they were ceremonial events, the

52. Grabar & Manoussacas, *Skylitzès*, no. 504, f. 206^v.

53. *Ibid.*, no. 333, f. 135.

54. *Ibid.*, no. 343, f. 138.

55. *Ibid.*, nos. 234, 235, f. 103^v.

56. *Ibid.*, nos. 340, 341, f. 137.

57. *Ibid.*, no. 372, f. 146.

58. *Ibid.*, no. 394, f. 152.

59. *Ibid.*, nos. 410–412, ff. 158^v–159.

60. *Ibid.*, no. 443, f. 172^v.

61. B. D. Filow, *Les miniatures de la Chronique de Manassès* (Sofia, 1927); I. Dujčev, *Minijature Manasijevog Letopisa* (Sofia/Belgrade, 1965), reprinted in various languages; *idem*, 'Le minijature bulgare medioevali,' *Corsi di cultura* 15 (1968), 124–125.

62. Filow, *Les miniatures*; Dujčev, *Minijature*, nos. 30, 45, 49, ff. 86^v, 124, 143; Walter, *Conciles*, 47–49.

63. Dujčev, *op. cit.*, no. 43, f. 122^v.

64. *Ibid.*, no. 2, f. 2.

65. *Ibid.*, nos. 57, 58, ff. 163^v, 166^v; Filow, *Les miniatures*, 8, 14, 66–67.

iconography is the same as in religious manuscripts. For narrative scenes also there was a common fund of iconographical types found in other genres of manuscripts. For scenes which are unique the question whether the miniatures were new creations or adapted from illustrations to analogous events in lost illuminated chronicles, must remain open. However, the probabilities are that chronicles were only occasionally illustrated at Constantinople.

3. Barlaam and Joasaph

The story of Barlaam and Joasaph has no obvious counterpart in Byzantine illuminated texts. The closest analogies would be with Lives of saints—but these were rarely if ever illuminated on the same scale—and chronicles. The story is situated in the first centuries of the Christian era after the evangelisation of India by St Thomas the Apostle.⁶⁶ Joasaph, son of Abenner, king of India, is converted to Christianity by a hermit named Barlaam. The hermit instructs and baptizes Joasaph before retiring into the desert. Abenner tries, without success, to alienate his son from the Christian Church. The sorcerer Nachor is converted and baptized, and, later, king Abenner himself. Joasaph succeeds his father as king but quickly abdicates after appointing a Christian king in his place. He too retires to the desert where he rejoins the monk Barlaam.

In this story many events occur which are also illustrated in chronicles, as, for example, coronations and deaths. Others, such as the account of the persecution and martyrdom of the first Christians, have more in common with the illustration of Lives of saints. It also contains a number of spiritual and doctrinal discourses, whose illustration has analogies with that of similar texts in other genres. Since the narrative has a distinctly monastic tone, it is not surprising that the representation of bishops is rare. Even

66. Der Nersessian, *Barlaam et Joasaph*; coloured reproductions of Athos Iviron 463 in *Treasures II*. Greek text, PG 96, 857–1250 (BHG, 224). History of the text: P. Peeters, 'La première traduction latine de "Barlaam et Joasaph" et son original grec,' *AB* 49 (1931), 276–312; G. Garitte, 'Le témoignage de Georges l'Hagiorite sur l'origine du "Barlaam" grec,' *Le Muséon* 71 (1958), 57–63; M. Tarchnišvili, 'Les deux recensions du "Barlaam" géorgien,' *ibid.*, 65–86. The story would have been translated from Georgian into Greek by Saint Euthymius, founder of Iviron (died 1028). There are no earlier traces of a Greek text. The authorship is not attributed to John Damascene in manuscripts before the 13th century, see F. Dölger, *Der griechische Barlaam-Roman ein Werk des H. Johannes von Damaskos* (Ettal, 1953), reviewed by F. Halkin, *AB* 75 (1953), 475–480.

funeral scenes are presided over by a monk. On the other hand, there is no polemic against episcopal authority; indeed, for the instruction and baptism of king Abenner, Barlaam seeks out a bishop well versed in doctrine and the ecclesiastical canons.

Although there is no stereotyped fidelity to the same model in the illustration of the story of Barlaam and Joasaph, all the existing illuminated Byzantine manuscripts belong to the same family. The oldest surviving example is Jerusalem Stavrou 42 + Leningrad *graec.* 379, dating from the 11th century. Athos Iviron 463 (13th century) and *Paris. graec.* 1128 (14th century) are, however, in better condition.

The most usual scene in which a bishop figures is that of baptism, although this is by no means restricted to bishops. Sometimes, also, there is a discordance between the illustration and the text. Thus both Stavrou 42, f. 110, and *Paris. graec.* 1128, f. 100^v, show a bishop baptizing Joasaph, although the text implies that the monk Barlaam administered the sacrament.⁶⁷ In *Paris. graec.* 1128, f. 144^v, again, a bishop baptizes Nachor (fig. 28), although the text speaks of a monk invested with the priesthood.⁶⁸ In Iviron 463, f. 118, a bishop does, indeed, baptize king Abenner in accordance with the text, although in *Paris. graec.* 1128, f. 176, a monk administers the sacrament.⁶⁹

Only *Paris. graec.* 1128 has other scenes in which a bishop appears. A discourse concerning the life of hermits and monks tells how on Sundays they seek out a church where they may receive communion. On f. 64^v a bishop is shown administering this sacrament.⁷⁰ It is not, however, completely clear that the personage giving communion to Joasaph after baptism on f. 100^v is actually a bishop; it seems, rather, as if he is wearing a red *epitrachelion* marked with crosses.⁷¹

Two other miniatures in *Paris. graec.* 1128 recall the doctrinal role of bishops. On f. 80 is a 'most theological man' who may be Gregory of Nazianzus, although he is not specifically named.⁷² Finally a representation of the Council of Nicaea, named in the

67. PG 96, 1033; Der Nersessian, *Barlaam et Joasaph*, 170, fig. 298.

68. PG 96, 1129; Der Nersessian, *op. cit.*, fig. 339.

69. PG 96, 1192; Der Nersessian, *op. cit.*, fig. 67; *Treasures II*, fig. 118.

70. PG 96, 965-969; Der Nersessian, *op. cit.*, fig. 265.

71. PG 96, 1033, Der Nersessian, *op. cit.*, fig. 298.

72. PG 96, 993; Der Nersessian, *op. cit.*, fig. 282.

legend, with four seated bishops, illustrates on f. 100^v the orthodox doctrine imparted before baptism to Joasaph.⁷³

The illustration of each of the conversions around which the story is constructed with a scene of baptism, provides evidence that this was the regular iconographical formula for conversion. It also seems that the late *Paris. graec.* 1128 has undergone, in its illustration, the influence of an increasing preoccupation with doctrine. Analogies for this Palaeologan preoccupation may be adduced: *Basileensis* A N I 8 and the lost *Smyrna Physiologus*.⁷⁴

4. Lives of saints

Apart from the *Life of Alexander* by the Pseudo-Callisthenes, illustrated biographies are limited in the Byzantine tradition to saints. Hagiography was a popular genre of literature. However, only one individual Life with miniatures has survived, that which was added to the 9th-century manuscript of the *Homilies* of Gregory of Nazianzus, *Paris. graec.* 510.⁷⁵ The majority of illustrated Lives are those to be found in the volumes of the Metaphrastic collection.⁷⁶ Some fifty examples of illustrated volumes are known, of which about twenty contain scenes but only ten biographical cycles.⁷⁷ The number is remarkably small in relation to the 1500 Metaphrastic manuscripts catalogued by Ehrhard. Most of the illustrated volumes date from the 11th and 12th centuries. A few illustrated manuscripts of non-Metaphrastic Lives are known, one dating from the 10th century. Finally there are some Synaxaries with more or less developed Lives, whose illustrations, although related, belong to a different tradition from the Metaphrastic Lives.

Various formulae were used for the disposition of the illustrations in volumes of the Metaphrastic Lives.⁷⁸ One was the frontispiece, on

73. PG 96, 1033; Der Nersessian, *op. cit.*, fig. 297; Walter, *Conciles*, 42, fig. 10.

74. See below, 71, 74–75.

75. See below, 69–70, 88–89.

76. Ehrhard, *Überlieferung*; Der Nersessian, 'Metaphrastian Menologium'; Mijović, *Menolog*.

77. Patterson-Ševčenko, *Saint Nicholas*.

78. Four volumes with a frontispiece, of the same set: Oxford Barocci 230; *Vindobon. hist. graec.* 6, *Paris. graec.* 580 + 1499, *Sinait.* 512. Two volumes with a portrait and death-scene of the same set: Copenhagen Kongelige Bibliotek cod. 167, *Mosquen. graec.* 175. Two developed cycles of the same set: *Mosquen. graec.* 9 (382), *Sinait.* 500. Three volumes with illuminated initial letters but not of the same set; *Vatican. graec.* 1679, *Londin.* Additional 36636, Oxford Cromwell 26.

which were assembled pictures of all the saints whose Lives occurred in the volume. Another was to put the saint's portrait at the beginning of his Life and death-scene at the end. A third was to illuminate the initial letter of the Life. Others have a headpiece to the Life with a portrait, scene or cycle.

It is convenient to present the Metaphrastic Lives by volumes. Of seven examples of the first volume (September), *Londin*. Additional 11870 is the most abundantly illustrated. For bishops there are passion cycles, one scene of martyrdom and portraits.⁷⁹ In the cycle for the *Life of Eustathius*, f. 151, a bishop also figures, administering baptism to Eustathius on the occasion of his conversion. *Marc. graec.* 586 (660) contains three scenes of the martyrdom of bishops and one portrait.⁸⁰ In the frontispiece of Oxford Barocci 230, there are six portraits of bishops.⁸¹ Two other manuscripts contain only a miniature of Symeon the Stylite, the saint with whose *Life* the September volume begins.⁸² Oxford Cromwell 26 has illuminated initial letters, one of which portrays an angel carrying off the persecutor Licinius, but no picture of a bishop.⁸³

Of three examples of the second volume (October), *Mosquen. graec.* 175 (358) is illustrated by a portrait at the beginning and death-scene at the end of each Life, five of which are of bishops.⁸⁴ The initial letters of *Vatican. graec.* 1679 include seven portraits of bishops, together with the martyrdom of Dionysius the Areopagite, and Ananias of Damascus revenging himself upon his persecutor, Lucianus.⁸⁵ In the frontispiece to *Vindobon. hist. graec.* 6, there are nine portraits of bishops.⁸⁶

For the month of November, there were two volumes. Of nine

79. Lazarev, *Pittura bizantina*, 191, 248 note 15, 249 note 31; Ch. Walter, 'Un menologe byzantin de la British Library,' *Communication*, Société des Antiquaires, June 15. 1977. Two cycles of the Passion of a bishop: f. 44, Anthimus of Nicomedia; f. 52, Babylas of Antioch. Two anomalies: f. 104, Autonomus, a bishop, represented as a layman; f. 242, Gregory of Armenia beheaded, although he died a natural death.

80. Mijović, *Menolog*, 196 note 147; Ehrhard, *Überlieferung*, 51, 343.

81. Mijović, *op. cit.*, 192 note 144; Ehrhard, *op. cit.*, 333; Hutter, *Oxford I* 1, no. 34, fig. 172.

82. Athos Stavronikita 3, Athos Lavra D 46 (422).

83. Ehrhard, *op. cit.*, 333; Hutter, *Oxford I* 1, no. 23, fig. 127.

84. Mijović, *Menolog*, 199 note 156; Ehrhard, *op. cit.*, 369; Vera Likhachova, *Byzantine Miniature* (Moscow, 1977), pls. 15-17.

85. Ehrhard, *op. cit.*, 377; Walter, 'Triumph of the Martyrs,' 30-34.

86. Mijović, *op. cit.*, 198 note 152; Ehrhard, *op. cit.*, 380; P. Buberl & H. Gerstinger, *Die illuminierten Handschriften und Inkunabeln der Nationalbibliothek in Wien IV* (Leipzig, 1930), 38-43, pls. 13-15.

examples of the first volume, *Sinaït.* 500 is the most richly illustrated.⁸⁷ John Chrysostom is represented being inspired by Saint Paul; there are also portraits of Paul the Confessor and John the Almoner. *Athen. suppl.* 535 (formerly Serrai Prodromos I 34) has had most of its miniatures cut out.⁸⁸ There remains, however, f. 221^v, facing the *Life* of John Chrysostom, which contains a portrait of the saint and the scene of Saint Paul inspiring him (fig. 23). *Marc. graec.* 351 has only one miniature, f. 179^v, with bust portraits of John the Almoner and of a personification of charity.⁸⁹ Only one of the illuminated initial letters in *Londin.* Additional 36636 is illustrated with a bishop; once again the subject is Saint Paul inspiring John Chrysostom.⁹⁰ The other five illuminated manuscripts of this volume contain no picture of a bishop.⁹¹

Of four examples of the second volume for November, Genoa Saint Athanasius cod. 36 has only one miniature, a portrait of Gregory of Agrigentum, f. 44.⁹² The frontispiece to *Paris. graec.* 580 includes portraits of five bishops with the scene of the Vision of Peter of Alexandria.⁹³ Copenhagen Kongelige Bibliotek cod. 167 has a portrait at the beginning and a death-scene at the end of the *Lives* of Clement of Rome and of Peter of Alexandria.⁹⁴ There are only portraits of Gregory the Wonderworker, Amphilocius and Gregory of Agrigentum. Athos Dochiariou 5 has portraits of the same bishops at the beginning of their respective *Lives* (see fig. 3).⁹⁵ An appendix to this volume contains the recital attributed to Ephrem of Cherson, concerning the miraculous preservation by Clement of Rome of a child's life. The frontispiece, f. 389^v, consists of a cycle recounting the story.⁹⁶

For the month of December there were also two volumes. Of three

87. Mijović, *op. cit.*, 203 note 171; Ehrhard, *op. cit.*, 411; K. Weitzmann, *Illustrated Manuscripts at Saint Catherine's Monastery on Mount Sinai* (Collegeville, 1973), 20.

88. Mijović, *op. cit.*, 204 note 147; Ehrhard, *op. cit.*, 410.

89. Mijović, *op. cit.*, 204 note 175; Ehrhard, *op. cit.*, 412–413.

90. Ehrhard, *op. cit.*, 402.

91. Athos Panteleimon 100, *Leningrad graec.* 373, *Sinaït.* 499, *Vatican. graec.* 859, *Thessaloniki Vlatadon* 3 (19).

92. Mijović, *op. cit.*, 198 note 153; Ehrhard, *op. cit.*, 423.

93. Mijović, *op. cit.*, 198 note 154; Ehrhard, *op. cit.*, 428–429; Omont, *Miniatures*, 49–50, pl. 102.

94. Mijović, *op. cit.*, 200 note 157; Ehrhard, *op. cit.*, 425; Mackeprang, *Danish Collections*, 4–6.

95. Mijović, *op. cit.*, 201 note 159; Ehrhard, *op. cit.*, 417–418; *Treasures III*, figs. 258–264.

96. Walter, 'Saint Clement,' 246–260.

illuminated examples of the first volume, two contain no picture of a bishop.⁹⁷ *Ambrosian*. E 89 Inf. (1017) contains three portraits of bishops: Nicolas, Ambrose and Spyridon.⁹⁸ A unique example of the second volume, Athos Lavra 51 D (427) contains scenes of martyrdom for Eleutherius, Ignatius and Philip. Theodore Graptus is represented in his portrait as a monk.⁹⁹

For the month of January there were also two volumes. The first contains no Life of a bishop.¹⁰⁰ In the fragment Halki 103 of the second volume, the martyrdom of Clement of Ancyra is represented on f. 26^v.¹⁰¹

For the months of February, March and April there was a single volume. However no illuminated example of it has survived. The volume for February to June, Messina San Salvatore cod. 27, contains portraits of Blasius and of Basil of Amasea.¹⁰²

For the months from May to August there was also a single volume. It contains no Life of a bishop.¹⁰³ However three texts were included which are concerned with relics. On August 15 there was read the account of the Invention and Translation of the Virgin's mantle. This is illustrated in *Mosquen. graec.* 9 (382), f. 159^v, by a picture of the Translation,¹⁰⁴ while in *Paris. graec.* 1528, f. 181^v, there is an anomalous picture of the Veneration of the Virgin's girdle.¹⁰⁵ Bishops figure in these scenes, but not in the miniatures accompanying the account of the Holy Face of Edessa and the Invention of John the Baptist's head.¹⁰⁶

Three illuminated manuscripts exist of selected Metaphrastic

97. Florence *Laurent*. *Plut.* xi. 10 and xi. 11.

98. Mijović, *Menolog*, 191 note 142; Ehrhard, *Überlieferung*, 477.

99. Mijović, *op. cit.*, 196–197. The martyrdom of Philip illustrates the *Life* of his daughter Eugenia (*BHG*, 608). Converted by her, he became a bishop, *PG* 116, 637; *Syn CP*, 342; Der Nersessian, 'Metaphrastian Menologium,' 226, fig. 2; *Treasures* III, fig. 116.

100. *Vatican. graec.* 817, *Vatican. reg. graec.* 60, *Venice Marc. graec.* 585 (829), *Sinait.* 512.

101. Mijović, *Menolog*, 202 note 167; Ehrhard, *Überlieferung*, 581.

102. Mijović, *op. cit.*, 191 note 141; Ehrhard, *op. cit.*, 650; Ch. Diehl, 'Notice sur deux manuscrits à miniatures de la bibliothèque de l'université de Messine,' *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* 8 (1888), 319–322.

103. Of five illuminated volumes, three have scenes: *Mosquen. graec.* 9 (382), Alexandria Greek patriarchate cod. 35 (303), *Paris. graec.* 1582. Two have only portraits: Meteora *Metamorphosis* 552, Berlin Staatsbibliothek *Th. graec.* fol. 17 (*graec.* 255).

104. Nancy Patterson-Ševčenko, 'An Eleventh-century Illustrated Edition of the Metaphrastian Menologium,' *Eastern European Quarterly* 13 (1979), 423–430; Mijović, *Menolog*, 197 note 150; Ehrhard, *Überlieferung*, 622–623.

105. Mijović, *op. cit.*, 197 note 151; Ehrhard, *op. cit.*, 625; Der Nersessian, 'Metaphrastian Menologium,' 230–231, fig. 9.

106. K. Weitzmann, 'The Mandyion and Constantine Porphyrogennetos,' *CA* 11 (1960), 163–184, reprinted, *Studies*.

Lives. Esphigmenou 14 contains eight Lives from September to December.¹⁰⁷ The baptism of Eustathius, f. 52, is performed by a bishop, but not that of Hermogenes, f. 294.¹⁰⁸ The miniatures illustrating the *Life* of Nicholas of Myra, have been cut out. Turin B ii 4 (*graec.* 89) contains only the *Passion* of Eustratius and his companions; no bishop figures in the illuminations. The 14th-century selection, Athos Dionysiou 50, includes the *Life* of Nicolas of Myra, illustrated with his portrait and miracles, and that of Blasius with his martyrdom.¹⁰⁹ The scene of the Translation of the Virgin's veil, f. 242, closely resembles that in *Mosquen. graec.* 9 (382).¹¹⁰

Three illuminated volumes of Lives do not belong to the Metaphrastic collection. Athos Vatopediou 456, a 10th-century manuscript illustrated in the 11th century, is devoted to the saints of Edessa.¹¹¹ However the only bishop represented is in an author portrait. No bishop participates in the Translation scene, f. 253. Grottaferrata D a v, a Menologium for January, illustrated in Southern Italy in 1101, has portraits of nine saintly bishops whose feasts occur during that month.¹¹² Another Menologium for January, *Paris. graec.* 1561, a 13th-century manuscript of the Family 2400, has a number of portraits of bishops set against an architectural background. The Seventy Apostles, f. 7, have no episcopal attribute.¹¹³

The illuminated Synaxaries are far more extensively illustrated. For each Life there is usually a single scene, and never more than two. Sometimes, as for the commemoration of the Seventy Apostles, they group together a number of bishops in the same miniature.

In the Menologium of Basil II, more than a hundred bishops are represented.¹¹⁴ There are over fifty portraits of saintly bishops,

107. Mijović, *op. cit.*, 190 note 140; Ehrhard, *op. cit.*, 52, 22–23; *Treasures* II, figs. 327–408. Lavra D 71 (447) apparently contains Lives from September and November with, f. 45, Amphilocius (portrait), f. 90, Clement writing accompanied by Saint Peter, *Treasures* III, figs. 119, 120.

108. *Treasures* II, figs. 329, 335.

109. Patterson-Sevčenko, *Saint Nicholas*.

110. Mijović, *Menolog*, 205 note 181; *Treasures* I, figs. 100–102; Belting, *Das illuminierte Buch*, 10.

111. Weitzmann, *Byzantinische Buchmalerei*, 20–21, figs. 140–141; *idem*, 'The Mandylyon' (note 106), 176–180.

112. Mijović, *Menolog*, 201 note 161.

113. *Ibid.*, 204 note 180.

114. Bibliography: Lazarev, *Pittura bizantina*, 174 note 70; Canart & Peri, *Sussidi*, at manuscript number; Mijović, *Menolog*, 188 note 137.

sometimes represented frontally, sometimes in profile in an attitude of prayer; there are also over fifty scenes of martyrdom. The remaining miniatures in which bishops figure are either biographical scenes or ceremonies. John Chrysostom departs in exile, p. 178; Hypatius kills a dragon, p. 181. Other biographical scenes are concerned with the death or relics of saintly bishops. The prodigy at the tomb of Clement of Rome, p. 204, is presented more succinctly than in Athos Dochiariou 5. Ceremonies include, beside two 'Advent' scenes for the relics of John Chrysostom, p. 353, and the Head of John the Baptist, p. 420 (fig. 42), the Exaltation of the Cross, p. 35, the Veneration of Saint Peter's Chains, p. 324 (fig. 47), the conversion of Pelagia, p. 98, and three penitential processions, pp. 65, 142 and 350 (fig. 49).

The Imperial Menologia, with longer Lives for fewer months, do not contain so many miniatures, although the artists used the same models. Three portraits of bishops figure in the fragment Athens Benaki cod. 5., all for the month of February.¹¹⁵ *Mosquen. graec.* 183, for February and March, contains pictures of Hypatius killing the dragon, f. 158, and of the Advent of John the Baptist's Head, f. 108, together with the Translation of the relics of Nicephorus of Constantinople.¹¹⁶ In Baltimore cod. 521, for the month of January, there is a miniature of the Veneration of Saint Peter's Chains, f. 105, and of the martyrdom of Timothy and the Translation of his relics, f. 203 (fig. 43).¹¹⁷

The Synaxary Saba 63 + 208, belonging to the Family 2400, contains no pictures of bishops among its fourteen illustrations.¹¹⁸

Although all the surviving illuminated volumes of the Metaphrastic Lives are later in date than the Synaxaries, their

115. Mijović, *op. cit.*, 189 note 137a; I. Ševčenko, 'The Illustrators of the Menologion of Basil II,' *DOP* 16 (1962), 268, fig. 15, reprinted in *Ideology, Letters and Culture in the Byzantine World* (London, 1982); Der Nersessian, 'Menologia,' 106-108, note 53.

116. D. K. Treneff & N. P. Popoff, *Miniatures du Ménologe grec du 11^e siècle, no. 183 de la bibliothèque synodale à Moscou* (Moscow, 1911); Mijović, *Menolog*, 190 note 139; Ehrhard, *Überlieferung*, 52, 342-345; Der Nersessian, 'Menologia,' 94-111; Walter, 'John the Baptist,' 74.

117. Mijović, *op. cit.*, 189 note 138; Ehrhard, *op. cit.*, 396-400; Th. Moschonas, 'Histoire étrange d'un manuscrit enluminé alexandrin du 11^e siècle, perdu et retrouvé,' *Revue des conférences françaises en Orient* 1946; *Illuminated Greek Manuscripts*, no. 11.

118. A. Baumstark, 'Eine illustriertes griechisches Menaion des Komnenen-Zeitalters,' *Oriens Christianus* 3 (1926), 67-79; Mijović, *Menolog*, 203 notes 169, 170; Annemarie Weyl Carr, *The Rockefeller McCormick New Testament*, doctoral thesis (University of Michigan, 1973), 32, 58 note 73. Miniatures of the Exaltation of the Cross and Nicolas of Myra have been cut out.

iconography is far more conservative. In their illustrations there are few exceptions to the general judgment of Sirarpie Der Nersessian: 'No new cycle, nor perhaps even single miniatures were invented. . . . The illustrations, like the text, were based on earlier models, which were adapted to the special kind of decorations used for each manuscript.'¹¹⁹ In selecting his texts, Symeon the Metaphrast betrayed a marked preference for Lives with developed accounts of the saint's passion and death. Consequently the bishops chosen were mostly martyrs. The illustrations are in the tradition of those found at the shrines of martyrs: their portrait, their passion and their *mirabilia*. Even though the Lives follow the order of the liturgical calendar, the Metaphrastic collection can hardly be classified as a liturgical book. The only new iconographical themes to be included in its illustration were those concerned with the cult of relics.

By contrast there are signs in the illustrations in Synaxaries of the increasing importance that the liturgy would acquire in the ideology of the Byzantine Church. A high proportion of the saints commemorated are bishops. Also an important place is given in the choice of illustrations to ceremonial scenes. However, neither in the Metaphrastic Lives nor in the Synaxaries is much place given to the representation of biographical scenes, other than those connected with the death or *mirabilia* in the saint's life.

5. Liturgical calendars

Calendars for liturgical use were not, it seems, normally illustrated. However, Lectionaries included an appendix in the form of a calendar, indicating the Gospel readings prescribed for fixed feasts. These, which were sometimes illustrated, will be discussed in the paragraphs devoted to Lectionaries.

The unique illuminated calendar, made for the personal use of Demetrius I Palaeologus, Despot of Thessaloniki (1322–1340),

119. Der Nersessian, 'Metaphrastian Menologium,' 231. The Georgian Synaxary of Zacharias of Valachkert, Tbilisi, cod. A 648, was illuminated by Greek artists, Mijović, *Menolog*, 192 note 143; Gajne Alibegašvili, *Miniatures des manuscrits géorgiens des 11^e–13^e siècles* (Tbilisi, 1973). Among its 74 surviving miniatures may be noted: Exaltation of the Cross, fig. 5a; portraits of bishops, some rarely represented elsewhere like John of Constantinople and Ananias of Damascus, figs. 4a, 8c. The 11th-century date proposed by the author seems precocious. The archaisms suggest that the artist copied 10th-century models, while the ornamentation on the bishops' vestments is more consonant with a 12th-century date.

Oxford Bodley *graec.* th. f. 1, was planned to have a picture for each day of the year.¹²⁰ The first folios, ff. 1^v–6, are illustrated with full-page miniatures of the Great Feasts, ending with a Dormition scene, in which bishops figure. At the end is a cycle of the life of Demetrius, the saintly patron of the Despot, ff. 54^v–55; the last scene portrays the saint lying on a bier behind which are three bishops, one holding a thurible.¹²¹ The intervening miniatures are devoted to a calendar. Usually, as in calendars of other types, the subjects chosen were portraits or martyrdoms. Some twenty bishops are represented between September 29th and February 23rd, after which date there are no more. There are a number of scenes concerned with relics. Inventions and Translations,¹²² as well as the Veneration of the Virgin's veil and girdle.¹²³ In none of these does a bishop occur. On the other hand they are present in the scene of the Miracle of Saint Euphemia¹²⁴ and in the ceremony of the Exaltation of the Cross.¹²⁵

No text accompanied the pictures. Consequently the closest analogies with the manuscript are to be found in wall- and icon-calendars. The iambic dedicatory poem, ff. 55^v–56, together with the full cycle for Demetrius, show that the choice of illustrations was motivated by the devotion of the patron to the saints of the Byzantine Church.

6. Old and New Testaments

The text of the Old and New Testament as such offered no direct occasion for representing bishops, except in the case of the Epistles. Since James, Timothy and Titus were considered to have founded episcopal sees, they were, as was noted above, sometimes represented as bishops in frontispieces to Epistles, but never in illustration to the text. When bishops appear in the illustration of Old and New Testament manuscripts it is for extrinsic reasons. Illuminated Psalters, particularly those of the marginal redaction, are illustrated

120. P. Joannou, 'Das Menologion des Despoten Demetrios I Palaiologos,' *BZ* 50 (1957), 307–309; Belting, *Das illuminierte Buch*, 42–44; Mijović, *Menolog, passim*; Hutter, *Oxford I* 2, no. 1.

121. Ch. Walter, 'St Demetrius: The Myroblytos of Thessalonika,' *ECR* 5 (1973), 167, pl. 13, reprinted *Studies*.

122. Hutter, *Oxford I* 2, figs. 22, 48, 76, 84, 94, 99; ff. 14^v, 26^v, 41, 45, 50, 52^v.

123. *Ibid.*, figs. 86, 101; ff. 46, 53^v.

124. *Ibid.*, fig. 88, f. 47; Walter, *Conciles*, 248–249.

125. Hutter, *Oxford I* 2, fig. 14.

with miniatures commenting on the text. Others are accompanied by a catena. In both cases bishops figure in their illustration. In the illustrated Gospels, *Paris. graec.* 74, there are a few miniatures in which bishops figure, whether as a commentary on the text or as an anomaly. When the Gospels were restructured as a Lectionary, according to the order in which passages were read during the year, artists sometimes illustrated the feast upon which the text was read rather than the text itself. Here too there are occasional anomalies.

i. *Psalters*

The surviving witnesses to the existence of a genre of marginally illustrated Psalters date from the 9th to the 14th century. Their resemblance is not limited to the commentary character of the miniatures, for there is a common fund of iconographical themes and types, although each Psalter has its own specificity.¹²⁶ It is impossible to know what proportion of these illuminated Psalters has survived. However it is clear that the repertory of pictures was enriched, culminating in the Theodore Psalter. The Barberini Psalter, even if later in date, probably represents an intermediate stage in the development of the genre. Later there is a decline, both in the quality and the originality of the illustrations.

In the 9th-century Psalters, apart from a portrait of John Chrysostom illustrating Psalm 48,3 in the Chludov Psalter, f. 47^v, bishops occur only in miniatures which interpret a Psalm in terms of the clash between Iconophiles and Iconoclasts.¹²⁷ Sometimes triumphal imagery is used, for example, in the illustration to Psalm 23 in the Chludov Psalter and the Pantocrator Psalter, where Nicephorus, above, holds a clipeate icon of Christ, while below or to the side is represented the *conciliabulum* of 815 ordaining the destruction of icons (fig. 13). Similarly, in illustration to Psalm 51, Nicephorus tramples upon the iconoclast patriarch Iannis (fig. 12).¹²⁸ This miniature is combined with one of Saint Peter

126. Der Nersessian, *Theodore Psalter*, with bibliography, is the most extensive study to date of the group of 'marginal' Psalters; Suzy Dufrenne, *Tableaux synoptiques de quinze psautiers médiévaux à illustrations intégrales issues du texte* (Paris, 1978).

127. Ščepkina, *Chludov Psalter*; Dufrenne, *Psautiers grecs*, 21–22, pl. 2; Walter, *Conciles*, 27–29, figs. 1, 2; *Treasures III*, figs. 180–237. The pejorative analogies used by Iconophiles for the Iconoclasts all appear in the *Canon in erectione sanctorum imaginum*, PG 99, 1768–1780, attributed to Theodore the Studite but actually by Methodius, J. Gouillard, 'Deux figures mal connues du second iconoclisme,' *Byz* 31 (1961), 371–401, reprinted in *La vie religieuse à Byzance* (London, 1981).

128. Ščepkina, *Chludov Psalter*, f. 51^v (pagination by folio numbers).

trampling upon Simon Magus, suggesting that the Iconoclasts were also guilty of simony. Consequently there may be an indirect allusion to the Iconoclasts in the miniature of a simoniac ordination, illustrating Psalm 68 in the Chludov Psalter.¹²⁹ The use of parallels between the Bible and the history of the Iconoclasts recurs in the Pantocrator Psalter, f.165, where Iannis is compared with Beseleel.¹³⁰ Behind all these scenes is the *leitmotiv* of the Psalter: good triumphs over evil.

While themes connected with the Iconoclast controversy recur in the later marginal Psalters, they are supplemented by others connected with the cult of saints. Sometimes the criterion of choice, as already for John Chrysostom in the Chludov Psalter, is a correspondence between the virtue celebrated in a Psalm and the reputation of a saint as an adept of that virtue. The *leitmotiv* of good triumphing over evil is rendered more precise: God answers the prayers of the just man, and protects him from his enemies.

Some fifteen saintly bishops are represented and named in the Barberini Psalter, while in the Theodore Psalter there are twenty.¹³¹ It has been suggested that all the saints chosen for the illustration of the Theodore Psalter had a shrine at Constantinople where their relics were venerated.¹³² Often the two Psalters are illustrated with the same saints in the same attitude, normally that of prayer. For Psalm 5, Basil stands at a lectern, a candle in his hand.¹³³ For Psalm 64, Gregory the Wonderworker stands before a church holding a censer.¹³⁴ For Psalm 78, Spyridon of Trimithus confronts a group of Arians.¹³⁵ For Psalm 127, the martyrdom of Ignatius of Antioch was chosen.¹³⁶

Sometimes there are points of difference. For Psalm 32, the illustrator of the Barberini Psalter has chosen Gregory of Nazianzus, John Chrysostom and, probably, Cosmas and Damian to represent the just, whereas in the Theodore Psalter the Three

129. Ščepkina, *Chludov Psalter*, f. 67^v.

130. Dufrenne, *Psautiers grecs*, 34, pl. 26; *eadem*, 'Une illustration "historique" inconnue du Psautier du Mont-Athos, Pantocrator no. 61,' *CA* 15 (1965), 83-95.

131. L. Mariès, 'L'irruption des saints dans les psautiers byzantins,' *AB* 68 (1950), 153-162; Walter, 'Clergy in the Theodore Psalter,' 234.

132. Der Nersessian, *Theodore Psalter*, 89-98, esp. 90 note 10; see my review, *REB* 30 (1972), 368-370.

133. Der Nersessian, *op. cit.*, 18, fig. 6; Walter, 'Jakov of Serres,' 70, fig. 13.

134. Der Nersessian, *op. cit.*, 35, fig. 127.

135. *Ibid.*, 42, fig. 176.

136. *Ibid.*, 47, fig. 205.

Hierarchs appear, although they are not so named.¹³⁷ For Psalm 98, the Barberini Psalter has a representation of the empty Cross on Calvary, instead of which the Theodore Psalter has a picture of John Chrysostom presiding at the ceremony of the Exaltation of the Cross.¹³⁸ Another point of difference is the substitution, for the contrast between the *conciliabulum* of 815 and the triumphant Nicephorus, of two miniatures introducing Theodore the Studite. In the lower one Nicephorus and Theodore, the two heroes of the Iconophiles, are received in audience by Leo V, while above they hold jointly a clipeate icon of Christ.¹³⁹ The Theodore Psalter also has two cycles which do not occur in the Barberini Psalter: one for Gregory of Agrigentum illustrating Psalm 26,¹⁴⁰ and another for Gregory the Illuminator illustrating Psalm 119.¹⁴¹ John the Almoner, Blasius, Epiphanius, Patricius of Prusa and Eleutherius occur only in the Theodore Psalter,¹⁴² from which, curiously, Nicolas of Myra is omitted, although he is represented at prayer in the Barberini Psalter.¹⁴³

Besides the Exaltation of the Cross, there are other scenes of a liturgical or ceremonial nature in these Psalters. For Psalm 33, a scene of a bishop distributing communion while Arius is expelled from the church is substituted in the Theodore Psalter for the Feeding of the Five Thousand in the Barberini Psalter.¹⁴⁴ Both Psalters have a full cycle for the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste illustrating Psalm 65. In the last episode, a bishop presides at the recovery of their relics.¹⁴⁵ Both illustrate Psalm 68 with a picture of a simoniac ordination.¹⁴⁶ Both have two scenes of baptism, one of John the Baptist and Christ, the other of Philip and the eunuch, but none in which a bishop figures.¹⁴⁷

What Mariès called an irruption of saints into the marginal Psalters—perhaps incorrectly, for, had other examples survived, the

137. *Ibid.*, 26, fig. 60; Walter, 'Clergy in the Theodore Psalter,' 240, fig. 2.

138. Der Nersessian, *Theodore Psalter*, 47, 67, 80, fig. 212.

139. *Ibid.*, 24, 73–74, fig. 48.

140. *Ibid.*, 25, fig. 51.

141. *Ibid.*, 29, fig. 82.

142. *Ibid.*, 23, fig. 42; 44, fig. 185; 51, fig. 239; 35, fig. 123; 28, fig. 69.

143. In the Theodore Psalter the same Psalm (71) is illustrated by the nations acknowledging Christ, *ibid.*, 39, fig. 151.

144. *Ibid.*, 27, fig. 64.

145. *Ibid.*, 36, figs. 130–131; Walter, 'Clergy in the Theodore Psalter,' 234, fig. 7.

146. Der Nersessian, *Theodore Psalter*, 37, 75, fig. 143.

147. *Ibid.*, 37, fig. 138; 40, fig. 161.

process might be seen to have been gradual—is not necessarily a sign that their cult was acquiring new fervour. It is symptomatic rather of the cult of Constantinople as a holy city. The high proportion of bishops among the saints represented is a sign that increasing importance was being attributed to the episcopal state in the 11th century. The new ecclesiology is summed up in the miniature illustrating Psalm 45 in the Theodore Psalter, in which Sion, the city of God is represented symbolically by a church accompanied by a legend 'the city'—that is, Constantinople.¹⁴⁸

Of the four remaining illuminated Psalters of this family, *Sinait.* 48, executed about 1075, has only two miniatures of a bishop: John Chrysostom, holding an open book and meditating on the divine word, illustrates Psalms 36 and 48.¹⁴⁹ The Hamilton Psalter contains a dozen pictures of bishops, most of which were already present in the earlier versions.¹⁵⁰ Among the original miniatures may be noted the following: f. 85^v—an angel helping a bishop (Psalm 33); f. 110^v—the Last Judgment (Psalm 49). The illustration of Psalm 48, f. 109, by a miniature of the Inspiration of John Chrysostom seems to be an anomaly.¹⁵¹

No legends explain the connection between the text and illustrations in the Hamilton Psalter. The same is true of the Baltimore Psalter.¹⁵² However, this latter has virtually the same illustrations as the Kiev Psalter, dated 1397, with legends in Slavonic.¹⁵³ The same subjects are used as in the earlier Psalters, although not necessarily to illustrate the same Psalm. There are a number of portraits of bishops: Basil, Clement, Gregory of Nazianzus, John the Almoner, John Chrysostom and Nicephorus. Both, in the tradition of the Theodore Psalter, illustrate Psalm 98 with a scene of the Exaltation of the Cross.¹⁵⁴ The Kiev Psalter also has the cycle of the Forty Martyrs in illustration to Psalm 65.¹⁵⁵ However, in these

148. Der Nersessian, *Theodore Psalter*, 31, 84, 85, fig. 94.

149. K. Weitzmann, 'The Sinai Psalter cod. 48 with Marginal Illustrations and Three Leaves in Leningrad,' *Liturgical Psalters*, 5, 7, 9, fig. 14.

150. Belting, *Das illuminierte Buch*, 5; Dufrenne, *Tableaux synoptiques* (note 126).

151. Walter, 'Jakov of Serres,' 72.

152. Dorothy E. Miner, 'The "Monastic" Psalter of the Walters Art Gallery,' *Festschrift Friend*, 232–253; A. Cutler, 'The Marginal Psalter in the Walters Art Gallery, a Reconsideration,' *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 35 (1977), 36–61, proposing a 14th-century date with plausibility; Dufrenne, *Tableaux synoptiques* (note 126). Bibliography: *Illuminated Greek Manuscripts*, no. 29.

153. Vzdornov, *Kiev Psalter*.

154. *Ibid.* I, 132, II, f. 137.

155. *Ibid.* I, 122, II, f. 86.

later Psalters, the artists seem to have recopied mechanically, without grasping the overall 'message' which inspires the illustration of the Theodore Psalter.

Four other Psalters contain miniatures of bishops, but they belong to other iconographical traditions. *Vatican. graec.* 1927, characterized by the literal nature of its illustrations, contains only one representation of a bishop. Psalm 25, f. 41, which, in the marginal Psalters is illustrated with a scene connected with the triumph of the Iconophiles over the Iconoclasts, is illustrated in this Psalter with a miniature which shows the council of the impious to the left, while to the right stands the innocent man, a bishop with his eyes directed towards heaven and an open liturgical roll in his hands.¹⁵⁶ There is no explicit allusion to an Iconoclast synod. On the other hand the contrast between the impious and the innocent is an ancient theme of Psalter illustration. A bishop with a roll can hardly have been represented in Byzantine art earlier than the 11th century when this Psalter was illuminated. Perhaps, then, this miniature is a new adaptation of an ancient theme.

Two 14th-century Slavonic Psalters, which closely resemble each other, depend on Byzantine models.¹⁵⁷ Moreover the instructions for illuminating the Tomič Psalter are written on the folios in Greek. Psalm 65, in both the Tomič Psalter, f. 104^v, and the Serbian Psalter, f. 82^v, is illustrated with a Dormition, in which bishops figure.¹⁵⁸ Whereas Psalm 48 is illustrated in the Tomič Psalter, f. 80, with a group of bishops, in the Serbian Psalter, f. 63, the Three Hierarchs have been substituted.¹⁵⁹ Finally, to illustrate the phrase: 'All creatures praise the Lord' (Psalm 150, 6), the Serbian Psalter, f. 185, has a miniature in which various orders of society participate, including bishops.

The 11th-century Psalter *Vatican. graec.* 752 has the special characteristic that it is accompanied by a catena. Its illustrations often refer to the text of the commentary rather than directly to the

156. De Wald, *Vatican. graec.* 1927, dated to the early 12th century, pl. 13; Walter, *Conciles*, 31–32, fig. 4.

157. Marfa Ščepkina, *Bulgarian Miniatures of the 14th century, Research on the Tomič Psalter* (in Russian), (Moscow, 1963); J. Strzygowski, *Die Miniaturen des serbischen Psalters* (Graz, 1904); *Der serbische Psalter*, ed. H. Belting (Wiesbaden, 1978) miniatures presented by Suzy Dufrenne and R. Stichel.

158. Ščepkina, *op. cit.*, 67, fig. 36; Strzygowski, *op. cit.*, 49, fig. 49; Belting, *op. cit.*, 213–214.

159. Ščepkina, *op. cit.*, 65, fig. 39; Strzygowski, *op. cit.*, 34, fig. 36; Belting, *op. cit.*, 207, 285–286.

Psalm which they accompany. The general principle of the commentary is to interpret the Psalm text in terms of the antetypes of Christian revelation, notably of the Eucharist. In nearly twenty miniatures an altar is represented, and three of them are communion scenes.¹⁶⁰ Three miniatures represent ceremonies other than the Eucharist: Sylvester administers baptism;¹⁶¹ deacons adore the Cross;¹⁶² a possessed man is exorcised.¹⁶³ Bishops also figure in two *Parousia* scenes (fig. 18), and once they represent those who are to receive the good things of Christ.¹⁶⁴

The choice of bishops differs from that of the marginal Psalters. Many of them are anonymous, which is unusual in Byzantine iconography. Of those who are named, Amphilocius occurs once, holding a thurible while a priest stands beside him. The priest is called a spy, so this may be an allusion to an episode in the life of Amphilocius, with the spy being Eunomius.¹⁶⁵ Arethas, who was no saint although renowned as a writer, is represented teaching.¹⁶⁶ Sylvester figures seven times, for the most part in scenes too general to call for him rather than any other bishop. If, however, he was chosen to baptize, it may be because a tradition existed that he baptized Constantine.¹⁶⁷ The catena gives no clue as to the motive for choosing these bishops.

The incursion of bishops into Psalter illustration is only attested

160. De Wald, *Vaticanus graecus* 752. Communion scenes: ff. 76, 85, 193^v, pls. 22, 23, 35.

161. *Ibid.*, f. 193, 25, pl. 34, illustrating Psalm 62, which, according to the *Commentary* by the Pseudo-Athanasius, PG 27, 893–896, refers to sinners wishing to be converted and freed by baptism from their sins.

162. De Wald, *op. cit.*, f. 154^v, 21, pl. 28, illustrating Psalm 59. In the *Commentary* by Theodoret, PG 80, 1213, it is said that the deacons make their supplication through the mediation of David.

163. De Wald, *op. cit.*, f. 189, 25, pl. 34, illustrating Psalm 59. In the *Commentary* by the Pseudo-Athanasius, PG 27, 888, it is said that the Cross itself will drive out demons.

164. De Wald, *op. cit.*, f. 27^v, 9, pl. 22; f. 42^v, 11, pl. 19; f. 294, 31, pl. 41. In this last miniature there are five bishops, without a legend to identify them. However four can be recognized from their portrait type: Nicolas, John Chrysostom. Gregory of Nazianzus and Basil. The fifth, whom De Wald identifies tentatively as Gregory of Nyssa, might be Athanasius.

165. *Ibid.*, f. 50^v, 13–14, pl. 20. For Eunomius, see PG 39, 20.

166. De Wald, *op. cit.*, f. 51.

167. Ff. 51, 142^v, 148, 193 (twice), 298^v, 322^v. Baptismal scene, f. 193, *ibid.*, 25, pl. 34. The presence here of Sylvester, as, indeed, his cult and status in general at Constantinople, require further investigation, Eusebius of Pamphylia, *Sancti Sylvestri Romani antistitis acta antiqua probatoria*, ed. F. Combefis (Paris, 1659), BHG, 1630; R. Loenertz, "Actus Sylvestri": genèse d'une légende, *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 70 (1975), 426–39. Since the illustrations and commentary are mainly concerned with Christian antetypes in the Psalter, Sylvester may have recommended himself by the anti-Jewish polemics which are attributed to him.

in extant manuscripts from the 11th century. Even if it began earlier their association with eucharistic or teaching scenes accords well, as will be seen in a later chapter, with their incursion in the decorative programmes of apses.

ii. *Gospel books*

Only one Byzantine Gospel book, *Paris. graec. 74*, with its dependent Bulgarian and Rumanian copies, contains pictures of bishops.¹⁶⁸ The reason for their presence varies from miniature to miniature. Thus, to illustrate Christ's eschatological discourse, a standard picture of the Last Judgment was twice chosen, f. 51^v and 93^v, with bishops figuring among the elect.¹⁶⁹ For the burial of John the Baptist, f. 76, a standard interment scene has been used, without eliminating the anomaly of a bishop holding a thurible.¹⁷⁰ To illustrate Christ's remarks about blasphemy against the Holy Spirit, there was chosen a scene of a heretical bishop venerating an idol (fig. 21); this has rather the character of a commentary.¹⁷¹ Finally the representations of Lazarus reclining at supper at Bethany and wearing an *omophorion*, f. 193, recalls the fact that he was one of the Seventy Apostles and that, according to tradition, Saint Peter consecrated him bishop of Citium.¹⁷²

iii. *Lectionaries*

Most pictures of bishops in Lectionaries appear in scenes referring to the feast on which a passage of the Gospel was read rather than to the text itself.¹⁷³ They occur more frequently in the section where readings are prescribed for fixed feasts. The earliest examples occur

168. H. Omont, *Evangelies avec peintures du 11^e siècle* (Paris, no date). Ch. Walter, 'Lazarus a bishop,' *REB* 27 (1969), 197–208, reprinted, *Studies*; list of copies, *ibid.*, 197 note 1, completed, 'Clergy in the Theodore Psalter,' 230 note 2.

169. Omont, *Evangelies*, figs. 41, 81.

170. *Ibid.*, fig. 69; Walter, 'John the Baptist,' 77–78. The representation of the entombment of John the Evangelist, with two bishops present, in the Armenian Gospel Book, Freer National Gallery cod. 56.11, f. 7, dated 1263, has no equivalent in Byzantine iconography. It is modelled on the Dormition of the Virgin, Sirarpie Der Nersessian, *Armenian manuscripts in the Freer Gallery of Art* (Washington, 1963), 66–67, fig. 194.

171. Omont, *Evangelies*, fig. 119.

172. *Ibid.*, fig. 166; see note 168, and above, 12, 25–26.

173. E. C. Colwell & D. W. Riddle, *Prolegomena to the Study of the Lectionary Text of the Gospels* (Chicago, 1933), 1–5; S. Tsuji, 'Byzantine Lectionary Illustration,' *Illustrated Greek Manuscripts*, 34–39.

in the 10th-century Lectionary Athos Lavra A 86, where portraits of some bishops are represented at the date of their commemoration.¹⁷⁴ In the cycle of Great Feasts in the Lectionary of the *skevophylakion* of the Great Lavra, dating from the 10th or 11th century, bishops figure in the Dormition, f. 134^v.¹⁷⁵

The section for fixed feasts in the 11th-century *Vatican. graec.* 1156 is extensively illustrated for the months from September to January.¹⁷⁶ However, most often the artist was content to provide simple portraits, of which about fifty are of bishops. For the third council of Constantinople, commemorated on September 16, there is a group portrait of bishops, f. 253.¹⁷⁷ There is a series of four miniatures of personages venerating a relic of the True Cross, ff. 248^{r-v}, followed on f. 250^v, for September 14, by the standard picture of the Exaltation of the Cross (figs. 44, 45).¹⁷⁸ No other ceremonies are represented. Indeed, for the commemoration of Saint Peter's miraculous escape from prison on January 16, f. 294^v, there occurs a portrayal of the event itself, and not of the Veneration of the chains.

The Pierpont Morgan Lectionary, cod. 609, probably dating from the latter half of the 11th century, has one picture containing bishops in the section for moveable feasts on f. 42. On the sixth Sunday after Easter, the first Council of Nicaea was commemorated.¹⁷⁹ The initial 'T' of the Gospel passage is made up of bust portraits of saintly bishops, some identifiable, with Arius and Nestorius below making a *proskynesis*. The section for fixed feasts has only one portrait of a bishop on f. 326^v, of Basil, commemorated on January 1.¹⁸⁰

The 12th-century Lectionary Athos Panteleimon 2 has a miniature, f. 189^v, for September 14, where, in the ceremony of the Exaltation of the Cross, the features of Chrysostom are attributed to

174. Weitzmann, *Byzantinische Buchmalerei*, 46–48. The bishop here called Theodore the Studite, f. 274, fig. 309, resembles John Chrysostom; the bishop, f. 313, is unnamed.

175. K. Weitzmann, 'Das Evangeliar im Skevophylakion zu Lawra,' *Seminarium Kondakovium* 8 (1936), 83–98, pl. III 1, reprinted *Liturgical Psalters and Gospels; Treasures* III, fig. 8.

176. Mijović, *Menolog*, 194 note 146; Canart & Peri, *Sussidi*, at manuscript number.

177. Walter, *Conciles*, 40, fig. 9.

178. K. Weitzmann, 'Byzantine Miniature and Icon Painting in the Eleventh Century,' *Studies*, 295, figs. 298, 299, 297.

179. K. Weitzmann, 'The Constantinopolitan Lectionary Morgan 639,' *Festschrift Greene*, 372, fig. 306, reprinted *Liturgical Psalters and Gospels*.

180. *Ibid.*, 371, fig. 324.

the presiding bishop.¹⁸¹ A bust portrait of Basil occurs at the date of his commemoration on January 1.

The illustration of the Lectionary Athos Dionysiou 587 (740), dating from the latter half of the 11th century, is more complex.¹⁸² In the first part, illustrating the reading for the Friday in the third week after Pentecost, a group of saints, including the Three Hierarchs, is represented, f. 40^v.¹⁸³ The Gospel passage in question contains the phrase: 'Whoever will acknowledge me before men, I will acknowledge him before my father in heaven' (Matthew 10,32). Thus, like the illustrations in the marginal Psalter, the miniature interprets the passage. In the second part, the text to be read on the Sunday before Christmas when the ancestors of Christ were commemorated, is illustrated, f. 126, by an anomalous miniature of the Fathers of the Church.¹⁸⁴

Otherwise, in the section for moveable feasts, the artist sometimes illustrated the text and sometimes the saint or event commemorated. There are portraits against an architectural background of Nicolas of Myra for December 6, f. 124^v, and of Gregory of Nazianzus for January 25, f. 143.¹⁸⁵

In both sections a number of liturgical ceremonies are represented. On f. 13, Christ baptizes in a font;¹⁸⁶ on f. 43 a cleric proclaims from an ambo the Triumph of Orthodoxy (fig. 46).¹⁸⁷ The Exaltation of the Cross is represented on f. 119^v, the Translation of John Chrysostom's relics on f. 144^v and the Invention and Advent of the Head of John the Baptist on f. 148.¹⁸⁸

It has been suggested on grounds other than the differing motivation for the choice of subjects that the Dionysiou manuscript is connected with the monastery of Saint John Studios.¹⁸⁹ The close dependence of some miniatures on Synaxary models has also been noted. It may well be that the Synaxary, rather than the Lectionary, was at the origin of 10th- and 11th-century renewal in Byzantine iconography.

181. *Treasures I*, fig. 277.

182. K. Weitzmann, 'An Imperial Lectionary in the Monastery of Dionysiu on Mount Athos, Its Origin and Wanderings,' *Revue des études sud-est européennes* 7 (Bucharest, 1969), 239–253, reprinted, *Liturgical Psalters and Gospels*; coloured reproductions in *Treasures I*.

183. *Treasures I*, fig. 215.

184. *Ibid.*, fig. 247.

185. *Ibid.*, fig. 245, 258.

186. *Ibid.*, fig. 196.

187. *Ibid.*, fig. 220.

188. *Ibid.*, fig. 239, 259, 261.

189. Weitzmann, 'Imperial Lectionary' (note 182), 246–248.

Thus bishops always appear in the illustrations to Bible texts for reasons extrinsic to the content of the passage which they accompany. When the illustration of Psalters takes on the form of a commentary on the Psalms, bishops appear in the triumphal imagery of the Iconophiles, in scenes exemplifying virtues, and, if the commentary is concerned with sacramental antetypes, as ministers of sacraments. They appear also in the less frequent pictures which comment on the text in Gospel Books and Lectionaries, where, sometimes, their presence is anomalous. In the Lectionary, furthermore, their presence may sometimes be explained by the fact that the artist treated the book as a liturgical rather than a Bible text. While examples of bishops occur already in 9th- and 10th-century manuscripts of this genre, it is above all in the 11th century that they proliferate. There are some indications that the monastery of Saint John Studius encouraged this tendency, motivated by the desire to glorify Constantinople as the city of saints, the New Sion.

7. Liturgical books

Of Byzantine texts composed for liturgical use few illustrated manuscripts have survived. There is one example of a Sticherarion, several of the *Akathistos* and of liturgical rolls. No illuminated Byzantine Ordinal or Euchologion has survived; however there are a few Armenian and Syrian examples of the Ordinal.

The Kutlumis Sticherarion, illuminated in the 14th century, contains the *stichera* prescribed for the *Menaion* (fixed feasts), the *Triodion* (Lent and Holy Week) and the *Pentecostarion* (Easter to All Saints' Day).¹⁹⁰ The illustration consists almost entirely of *clipei*; it is archaic in conception as if copied from a much earlier manuscript. In choosing the illustrations the artist was inspired by the feast or commemoration and not by the content of the text. There are about twenty clipeate portraits of bishops, together with a group portrait, f. 250, for the Sunday of the Holy Fathers.

In monumental painting Stanzas 20 and 24 of the *Akathistos* were

190. Sirarpie Der Nersessian, 'L'illustration du Sticheraire du monastère de Koutlumis no. 412,' *CA* 26 (1977), 137-144; *Treasures* I, figs. 377-384. Add to the list of miniatures: f. 66, Ignatius of Antioch.

illustrated with a ceremonial scene in which bishops participate.¹⁹¹ In *Mosquen. graec.* 429, f. 28^v¹⁹² and *Scorial.* 19, f. 26,¹⁹³ bishops praise Christ in illustration to Stanza 20. This is not, however, the case in the scene of venerating an icon in illustration to Stanza 24. An illuminated *Akathistos* is included in both the Tomič and the Serbian Psalters; however bishops do not figure in their illustrations.¹⁹⁴

The illuminated liturgical roll was probably an 11th-century innovation.¹⁹⁵ Its principal textual content is the prayers recited secretly by the celebrant in the liturgies of Basil or John Chrysostom. The earliest surviving examples are virtually contemporary with the introduction into apse programmes of pictures of bishops holding rolls inscribed with texts from the liturgy.

Although most rolls have only a frontispiece portraying the author of the liturgy, five have a more developed programme, with pictures or illuminated initial letters. Their programmes have common elements, but between individual rolls there are considerable differences.

The roll formerly in the Russian Institute of Archaeology in Istanbul contains only the office for the evening of Pentecost and the Liturgy of the Presanctified.¹⁹⁶ The monastic community for which it was destined, no doubt Saint John Studius, figures largely in the miniatures. However, Basil appears twice, once at prayer and once blessing. The initial letters of Patmos I (707) have a few scenes which are directly related to the liturgy: a deacon holding a thurible and

191. A. Chadzinikolaou, 'Akathistos hymnos,' *RBK* I, 94–96. The *Akathistos* passes into church decoration, Gordana Babić, 'L'iconographie de l'Acathiste de la Vierge à Cozia (Valachie),' *ZRVI* 14–15 (1973), 173–189; C. Grozdanov, 'Novootkrivene kompozicije Bogorodičinog akatista u Markovom manastiru,' *Zograf* 9 (1978), 37–42; *idem*, *Ohridsko Slikarstvo*, 124–133.

192. G. M. Prochorov, 'A Codicological Analysis of the Illuminated *Akathistos* to the Virgin,' *DOP* 26 (1972), 249–252, fig. 7. The author identifies two personages in this miniature as the patriarchs Philotheus and Callistus.

193. Tania Velmans, 'Une illustration inédite de l'Acathiste et l'iconographie des hymnes liturgiques à Byzance,' *CA* 22 (1972), 131–165.

194. See above, note 157.

195. B. V. Farmakovski, 'Byzantine Parchment Manuscript Rolls with Miniatures,' (in Russian), *Bulletin of the Russian Archaeological Institute at Constantinople* 6 (1901), 253–259; Grabar, 'Rouleau liturgique,' Vera Lichatchova, 'La décoration d'un rouleau liturgique de la Bibliothèque publique d'Etat de Leningrad,' *CA* 23 (1974), 121–128; Victoria Kepetzi, *Les rouleaux liturgiques byzantins illustrés, 11^e–14^e siècles*, doctoral thesis (Université de Paris IV, 1979).

196. Farmakovski, *art. cit.* The roll is now in the Library of the Academy of Sciences, Leningrad, Lazarev, *Pittura bizantina*, 253 note 51.

John Chrysostom incensing an edicule while an angel hovers above.¹⁹⁷

Athos Lavra 2 is distinctive by reason of the close correspondence between many of the illustrations and the text.¹⁹⁸ Adam and Eve, angels, prophets, the Virgin and John the Baptist are portrayed beside the prayers in which they are mentioned. The same is true of the Great Feasts. In the secret prayer after the consecration all the saints are invoked.¹⁹⁹ They are represented in echelons in the accompanying miniature and include bishops. However, in the miniatures directly inspired by the liturgical action bishops do not figure. A simple priest is portrayed at prayer as the initial letter of the prayer of the proscomide, while, in illustration to the prayer of the Cherubicon, a deacon carries a paten.²⁰⁰

Two rolls are still more extensively illustrated. Stavrou 109, as well as a number of Great Feasts and Old Testament scenes, which do not always correspond directly to the text which they accompany,²⁰¹ has two scenes from the life of Peter of Alexandria illustrating the preparation for communion, and Saint Paul inspiring John Chrysostom illustrating the prayer of the Ectene after the Gospel.²⁰² Other liturgical scenes in which Christ is present recall those of the renewed apse programmes of the 11th and 12th centuries. These scenes will be discussed in a later chapter. There are two further initial letters in which John Chrysostom either holds a roll or stands before an altar.²⁰³ Two anonymous bishops are represented at prayer.²⁰⁴

Athen. graec. 2759, probably later in date than Stavrou 109, is remarkable for the number of named saintly bishops who figure in its miniatures.²⁰⁵ However, even if they have been taken from Synaxaries or Metaphrastic Lives, they have been adapted to their new context. Athanasius and Cyril of Alexandria both hold a liturgical roll; Paul and Metrophanes of Constantinople adore

197. G. Jacopi, 'Le miniature dei codici di Patmo,' *Clara Rhodos* 6-7 (1932-1933), fig. 145-147.

198. L. Bréhier, 'Les peintures du rouleau liturgique no. 2 du monastère de Lavra,' *Seminarium Kondakovianum* 11 (1940), 1-19; Grabar, 'Rouleau liturgique,' 474-475.

199. Bréhier, *art. cit.*, pl. 4 ii.

200. *Ibid.*, pl. 1, iv, iii, i.

201. Grabar, 'Rouleau liturgique,' 483-487.

202. *Ibid.*, pl. 132a, 125.

203. *Ibid.*, pl. 126a, b.

204. *Ibid.*, pl. 125, 127a.

205. Kepetzis, *Rouleaux liturgiques* (note 195).

Christ; Gregory of Nazianzus stands before an altar; James of Jerusalem holds a thurible; Ignatius of Antioch prays. These miniatures have only a general connection with the text. On the other hand, in illustration to the prayers for the catechumens and for those about to be baptized, John Chrysostom and Basil respectively bless and anoint children (fig. 30), while, in illustration to the prayer of intercession for Constantinople, Nicolas of Constantinople is represented incensing the city.

Thus the innovations found in 10th-century Synaxaries and 11th-century marginal Psalters are carried a stage further. The liturgy celebrated by saintly bishops is associated with the Communion of the Apostles. The same creative influence is at work as in the renewed programmes for apses.

The Syrian Ordinal, *Paris. syr.* 112, dated by the colophon to 1238/9, contains five miniatures of ordination ceremonies.²⁰⁶ The Armenian Ordinal Venice San Lazzaro cod. 1657 (440), illuminated at Zarnuk in 1248, has a frontispiece in which a bishop is probably ordaining a deacon.²⁰⁷ These miniatures resemble ordination scenes found in other genres of Byzantine manuscript. Whether there existed Byzantine Ordinals with illuminations, or whether the Armenian and Syriac Ordinals are the result of Western influence, it is not possible to say.

The Sticheron provides an example of the practice of reutilizing without originality a series of pictures suited to a text disposed in the order of the liturgical year. The illustration of liturgical rolls, on the other hand, were subjected to the same influences as apse decoration. Bishops find their place in a Church conceived as a hierarchical series of eucharistic celebrations.

8. Homilies

In proportion to the enormous quantity of Byzantine homiletic literature, there are few illuminated manuscripts of the genre.²⁰⁸

206. J. Leroy, *Les manuscrits syriaques à peintures conservés dans les bibliothèques d'Europe et d'Orient* (Paris, 1964), 332–338, pl. 111–113. The author, 336, suggests a Latin model, for Pontificals were already being illuminated in the West.

207. Sirarpie Der Nersessian, *Manuscrits arméniens illustrés... de la bibliothèque des Pères Mekhitharistes de Venise* (Paris, 1936), 102–104, fig. 40; M. Janashian, *Armenian Miniature Paintings of the Monastic Library at San Lazzaro I* (Venice, no date), 49–50, pl. 78.

208. G. Galavaris, 'Homilienillustration,' *RBK* III, 252–264.

Two full collections of the *Homilies* of Gregory of Nazianzus were illuminated in the 9th century. One illuminated manuscript exists of the *Commentary* on selected homilies, mostly doctrinal, by Elias of Crete. A selection of Gregory's homilies was also made to be read on feast days. Nearly forty illuminated manuscripts of this so-called liturgical edition are known, the earliest dating from the first half of the 11th century. There are also a dozen illuminated manuscripts of selections of John Chrysostom's homilies, and two of the *Homilies* of James of Coccinobaphus. It seems that a basic formula for homily illustration was already established in the 9th century. It is a development of the author portrait, in which the preacher is represented with his audience and often accompanied by a picture referring to the content of the homily. However miniatures could be used to illustrate or comment on passages of the text. The question arises to what extent the illustrations were modified when the new liturgical redaction was made.

The homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus have been divided into three groups: panegyrics and homilies concerned with historical events; homilies for feast days or specific occasions; homilies with a theological, moral or autobiographical content.²⁰⁹ However, as far as the incidence of bishops in the illustrations is concerned, this distinction is of no great help. In *Ambrosian*. E 49–50, the 'frontispiece' to each homily may be adapted to the specific occasion by the introduction of some detail defining who were the members of Gregory's audience.²¹⁰ There occur a number of biographical scenes, for Basil, for Gregory's father, his predecessor as bishop of Nazianzus, and for Cyprian, Athanasius and Gregory of Nyssa. Often, however, the artist was content with a simple portrait or conversation scene. One miniature, illustrating a reference to bishop Mark of Arethusa in Homily 4, *Contra Julianum* 1, p. 735, shows him being beaten with clubs—a conventional martyrdom scene.²¹¹ The passage concerning Mamas in Homily 44, *In novam dominicam*, is illustrated with a portrait of the saint dressed as a bishop.²¹² The anomaly is no doubt due to the artist having understood the word pastor (*poimen*) in an ecclesiastical and not an agricultural sense.

209. Der Nersessian, 'Gregory of Nazianzus,' 198–199.

210. Grabar, *Grégoire de Nazianze*.

211. *Ibid.*, pl. 68 i; PG 35, 616–620.

212. Grabar, *Grégoire de Nazianze*, pl. 43 iii; PG 36, 620.

The illustrations in the other 9th-century manuscript, *Paris. graec.* 510, are different both in format and inspiration.²¹³ At the beginning of each homily the scenes are grouped together in a full page miniature. The artists were not, apparently, interested in Gregory as a preacher. The miniatures either illustrate the text or comment it in a way that is often recondite. This rich source of material for 9th-century iconography has been frequently studied without its interest being exhausted. There are biographical cycles for Basil, for Gregory's father and for Cyprian.²¹⁴ Conversions, baptisms and consecrations as bishops are illustrated (fig. 34). Sometimes the miniature does not correspond to the text, as in the case of Basil celebrating a liturgy of thanksgiving for the death of Julian the Apostate.²¹⁵ When Homily 34, *In Aegyptiorum adventum* is illustrated, f. 355, with a picture of the first Council of Constantinople, this is rather in the guise of commentary.²¹⁶ One of the scenes illustrating Homily 42, *Supremum vale*, shows Gregory tendering his resignation as bishop of Constantinople to Theodosius, a scene which perhaps belongs rather to imperial than to ecclesiastical iconography.²¹⁷ There are also several full-length portraits of bishops, of Gregory himself, of his father, of Basil and of Gregory of Nyssa, f. 43^v and f. 71^v.²¹⁸

It has been suggested that many of these miniatures are not original, but that they have been recopied from illuminated manuscripts of various genres, which have been lost. In cases where the miniature is not in accordance with the text this can be demonstrated.²¹⁹ Although some miniatures are obvious choices, as, for example, a representation of Pentecost to illustrate the homily for this feast, others have proved more difficult to explain. The selection seems to have been made *ad hoc* for each homily. The fact that it was an imperial commission must have sometimes influenced the choice. The latent ecclesiology is one of a

213. Omont, *Miniatures*; Der Nersessian, 'Gregory of Nazianzus,' 195–228.

214. See below, 88–89.

215. Omont, *Miniatures*, 29, pl. 54; PG 35, 663–720; see below, 94–95.

216. Omont, *op. cit.*, 28, pl. 50; PG 36, 241–256; Der Nersessian, 'Gregory of Nazianzus,' 206, fig. 16; Walter, *Conciles*, 35–37, fig. 7.

217. Omont, *op. cit.*, 24, pl. 41; PG 36, 458–492; *De vita sua*, 1871–1918, PG 37, 1160–1164; *Life* by Gregory the Priest, PG 35, 300–301.

218. Omont, *op. cit.*, 15, 17, pls. 23, 27.

219. For example, in the cycles concerning Cyprian of Antioch and the death of Julian the Apostate, see below, 88 n. 16, 95.

Christendom whose head was the emperor, with a renewed awareness appropriate to the expansionism of Basil I's reign, of the missionary vocation of the Byzantine Church.²²⁰

The homilies for the liturgical edition were selected either because they were directly relevant to the feast on which they were read (Easter, Nativity, Pentecost, etc.) or because they comment upon a theme which occurred in the Gospel reading for that day.²²¹ The choice of illustrations is closer to that of the Ambrosian than the Paris Gregory: the preacher, the subject of the homily and, possibly, the audience. For the most part the illustration consists of a headpiece to each homily, which may be combined with or replaced by an illuminated initial letter. A few examples have more extensive illustration, taking up themes or subjects mentioned in the text.

For Athanasius and Basil a funeral scene was usually chosen; the single example for Cyprian seems to be an anomaly.²²² For Homily 42, *Supremum vale*, read on Gregory's own feastday, a teaching or preaching scene was chosen almost invariably.²²³ The two exceptions, Jerusalem Taphou 14 and *Paris. graec.* 543, with biographical scenes, will be discussed later.²²⁴ Two homilies, 39, *In sancta Lumina*, and 40, *In sanctum baptisma*, are concerned with baptism.²²⁵ Normally the first was illustrated by Christ's baptism and the second by John baptizing or a teaching scene. In one manuscript, Ambrosian. G 88 (416), f. 176^v, a bishop baptizes a group of personages in a font.²²⁶ A miniature of a bishop baptizing serves as commentary in *Paris. graec.* 550, f. 34^v, to a phrase in Homily 44, *In novam dominicam*.²²⁷

Other religious ceremonies are illustrated. Four manuscripts contain a picture not found elsewhere in Byzantine art of the consecration of an altar.²²⁸ There are a few scenes of the veneration of an icon,²²⁹ while a reference to carrying the gifts to the altar in

220. Der Nersessian, 'Gregory of Nazianzus', *passim*.

221. Galavaris, *Gregory Nazianzenus*; Walter, 'Gregory of Nazianzus.' The Georgian manuscript Tbilisi A 109, dating from about 1200, is iconographically close to Byzantine illustrated homilies. S. Amiranašvili, *Georgian Miniatures* (in Russian), (Moscow, 1966), 51 note 44; G. W. Alibegašvili, 'Miniatures for the Homilies of Gregory Nazianzenus' (in Russian), *Ars Georgica* 7 (1971), 205-228.

222. Galavaris, *Gregory Nazianzenus*, 14-15; Walter, 'Gregory of Nazianzus,' 204-205.

223. Walter, *art. cit.*, 201.

224. See below, 95.

225. Galavaris, *op. cit.*, 15; Walter, *art. cit.*, 198.

226. Galavaris, *op. cit.*, fig. 311.

227. *Ibid.*, 53, fig. 408; PG 36, 616.

228. Galavaris, *op. cit.*, figs. 4, 28, 380, 457; Walter, 'Gregory of Nazianzus,' 206.

229. Galavaris, *op. cit.*, figs. 385, 463; Walter, *art. cit.*, 207.

Homily 43, *In laudem Basilii*, is illustrated in *Taurin.* C I 6, f. 88^v, by a deacon holding a chalice into which Christ is apparently diving.²³⁰

Some miniatures are taken from the iconography of councils. For Basil and Cyprian there are occasionally more extensive biographical scenes, which will be discussed later.

It has been suggested that, in choosing illustrations for this liturgical edition of Gregory's homilies, artists mainly followed Lectionary models.²³¹ That the same subject should be found as the frontispiece to one of these homilies as was used to illustrate the Gospel reading for the relevant feast, is not surprising. These subjects are often already present, illustrating the same homilies, in the 9th-century Paris Gregory. There is no evidence available on how Gregory's homilies were illustrated in the intermediate period. However, it is likely that, as was the case for the homilies of John Chrysostom, the basic formula established in the 9th-century persisted. In general the genre of the liturgical edition seems to be conservative. The accent is rather upon the office of Gregory as teacher and preacher than upon the use of his homilies as part of the office of the Byzantine Church.

Of the 16 miniatures illustrating the 13th-century (?) manuscript of the *Commentary* of Elias of Crete on Gregory's homilies, *Basileensis graec.* A N I 8, two portray the author and the commentator (fig. 9).²³² The others, for the most part, although more formally conceived, follow in the iconographical tradition of the Ambrosian Gregory: Gregory is presented as preacher or teacher together with his audience, and, sometimes, the subject of the homily. Some scenes betray the influence of the iconography of councils. Orthodox and heretics confront each other,²³³ heretics are punished.²³⁴ Thus the *leitmotiv* of the triumph of good over evil reappears in a doctrinal context. The same manuscript also contains two representations of a bishop being consecrated (fig. 35).²³⁵

The earliest surviving examples of illuminated manuscripts of John Chrysostom's *Homilies* date from the 10th century.²³⁶ However, if the miniatures illustrating excerpts from them in the

230. Galavaris, *op. cit.*, 172-173, fig. 58; PG 36, 564.

231. Galavaris, *op. cit.*, 98; Walter, 'Gregory of Nazianzus,' 208.

232. Walter, 'Commentaire enluminé,' 115-129.

233. *Ibid.*, 116-117, fig. 2.

234. *Ibid.*, 119, 120, 124, 127, figs. 5, 6, 11, 15.

235. *Ibid.*, 126-127, figs. 14, 15.

236. A. Grabar, 'Miniatures gréco-orientales, II,' *Antiquité et Moyen Age*, 804-839, pls. 189-194.

Sacra Parallela, Paris. *graec.* 923, were copied from illuminated manuscripts of his *Homilies*, the genre would have been practised rather earlier.²³⁷ The artists do not depart from the established formula. Sometimes the presentation of the subject of the homily may be recondite, as in the 10th-century *Athen.* 211. Here John Chrysostom is represented in the headpieces twice with Saint Paul, f. 96 and f. 172, once explaining the Eucharist to his audience, f. 56, and once commenting upon Christ's teaching as a child in the Temple, f. 226.²³⁸ In Athos Pantocrator 22, f. 194^v, he appears in an initial letter, in illustration to his Homily *In beatum Job* 1, with Job and Ecclesia.²³⁹ Ecclesia is, in fact, his audience. The headpiece to *Paris. graec.* 799, f. 326^v, illustrating his Homily *In Oziam seu de serafinis*, takes up the theme of Isaiah 6,1-2.²⁴⁰ To the left is John Chrysostom, to the right the dead king Ozias and, above, the Lord seated upon a throne between attendant seraphim.

The miniatures in the two illuminated manuscripts of the *Homilies* of James of Coccinobaphus are solely concerned with the content of the homilies.²⁴¹ Bishops appear only in the frontispiece to *Paris. graec.* 1208, f. 1^v, as the mentors of the author.

In sum, the surviving illuminated manuscripts of homilies belong, with the exception of *Paris. graec.* 510 and the two Coccinobaphus manuscripts, to a tradition early established and consistently maintained. The emphasis is upon the author's teaching role. The illustrations to the contents of the homilies provide some material for the study of portraits, of biographical scenes and of religious ceremonies. However, even in the case of the liturgical edition of Gregory's homilies, the impact of liturgical renewal from the 10th century onwards was only slight.

9. Theological treatises

Theological treatises were not extensively illustrated. Two, which have already been mentioned, the *Panoplia dogmatica* of Euthymius Zigabenus, *Vatican. graec.* 666 and *Mosquen. graec.* 387, and the

237. Weitzmann, *Sacra Parallela*, see below, 73.

238. Grabar, *art. cit.*, f. 96, 809-810, fig. 192a; f. 172, 812, fig. 193b; f. 56, 807-808, fig. 190c; f. 226, 813, fig. 194a.

239. Weitzmann, 'Selection of Texts' (note 2), 96-97, fig. 43b.

240. Walter, 'Three Hierarchs,' 257, fig. 3 ii.

241. C. Stornajolo, *Miniature delle Omilie di Giacomo Monaco*, cod. *Vatican. gr.* 1162 (Rome, 1910); Omont, *ed. cit.* (note 11).

writings of John Cantacuzenus, *Paris. graec.* 1242, contain only dedicatory frontispieces or author portraits.

The majority of the illustrations of the *Sacra Parallela*, *Paris. graec.* 923, are also author portraits.²⁴² However, a number of the excerpts are illustrated with miniatures, which correspond to those which are likely to have figured in the genre of manuscript from which the excerpt was copied. The miniatures in which bishops figure are generally teaching scenes. The subject of the excerpt may also be represented, as, for example, in the case of Basil between the chaste and the prurient woman f. 272,²⁴³ or Basil and the painter copying an icon, f. 328^v.²⁴⁴ Sometimes the teacher's audience is included in the miniature.²⁴⁵ There are two biographical scenes: one of John Chrysostom in conversation with Eutropius,²⁴⁶ the other of Basil defending the widow against the just judge.²⁴⁷ This latter subject is also illustrated in manuscripts of Gregory's homilies.

The selection of John Chrysostom's homilies, *Paris. graec.* 799, dating from the 11th century, is preceded by his treatise, *De sacerdotio*, of which the first part is an apologia for his use of deceit in order to evade ordination to the priesthood.²⁴⁸ The four miniatures illustrating it, f. 1, constitute a biographical cycle.²⁴⁹

The *Physiologus* consists of a series of brief descriptions of plants, stones and animals, each followed by a symbolical interpretation.²⁵⁰ It seems that the original version was compiled in a syncretist milieu in 4th-century Alexandria. Most Carolingian and Byzantine illuminated manuscripts of this text contain pictures only of the animal

242. Weitzmann, *Sacra Parallela*. For the implausibility of Weitzmann's attribution of this manuscript to Mar Saba before 843, the end of Second Iconoclasm, see R. Cormack's review, *Burlington Magazine* 123 (1981), 170–172. A likely *terminus post quem* for the illuminations is provided by the mistaken attribution to Methodius of Olympus of a close-fitting white hood, ff. 131^v, 278^v, 324, figs. 727, 728. This copies the portrait type of Methodius of Constantinople, see below, 105, which could hardly have been created before his appointment as patriarch in 843, J. Osborne, 'A Note on the Date of the *Sacra Parallela*', *Byz* 51 (1981), 316–317. M. Richard, 'Florilèges spirituels grecs,' *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité* 5, 475–512.

243. Weitzmann, *Sacra Parallela*, fig. 576.

244. *Ibid.*, fig. 569.

245. *Ibid.*, f. 11^v, fig. 570; f. 189^v, fig. 640; f. 294, fig. 565.

246. Walter, 'Three Hierarchs,' 254; Weitzmann, *Sacra Parallela*, 241, fig. 697.

247. Walter, *art. cit.*, 244; Weitzmann, *op. cit.*, 230, fig. 647.

248. PG 47–48, 623–632.

249. Walter, 'Three Hierarchs,' 240–252, fig. 5.

250. F. Sbordone, *Physiologi graeci, singulas variarum aetatum recensiones ... in lucem protulit* (Genoa/Milan/Naples, 1936); L. Wiener, *Contributions Towards a History of Arabico-Gothic Culture*, IV, *Physiological Studies* (Philadelphia, 1921); E. Peterson, 'Die Spiritualität des griechischen Physiologos,' *BZ* 47 (1954), 60–72.

or other object described. They belong, therefore, to the genre of scientific treatises. However, the *Physiologus* from the Evangelical School in Smyrna, destroyed by fire in 1921 and known only from photographs, contains illustrations of the symbolical interpretations.²⁵¹

Strzygowski noted eight miniatures in which bishops figure. On p. 18, Spyridon confronts the Arians (fig. 16), in a scene like those found in the iconography of Councils.²⁵² This miniature illustrates Chapter 6 on the ant, and more particularly the notion of faith. On p. 34, Ignatius prays before a baldacchino, under which is placed a font, and an edicule, while above Christ is enthroned in an aureole. This miniature illustrates Chapter 12 on the phoenix which was a type of Christ.²⁵³ On p. 44, John Chrysostom stands in prayer before a church, while another personage makes a *proskynesis*. Rays of light descend from an aureole. This miniature illustrates Chapter 17 on the serpent; the saint prays that poison should not enter the Church.²⁵⁴ On p. 50, Cyril addresses a group of personages. This miniature illustrates Chapter 18 on the hedgehog, and more particularly the theme of protection against the devil.²⁵⁵ On p. 63, Gregory of Nyssa stands at prayer; to the left stands the devil with a group of personages, while, to the right is an edicule with an icon of Christ. This miniature illustrates Chapter 22 on the partridge, and the theme of those who turn away from the devil to follow Christ.²⁵⁶ On p. 70, Athanasius addresses a group of personages. This miniature illustrates Chapter 24 on the ant-lion, and the choice between God and riches.²⁵⁷ On p. 72, Sylvester distributes communion to the faithful. This miniature illustrates Chapter 25 on the weasel, and the theme of those who, after frequenting the Church, plunge back again into a worldly life.²⁵⁸ On p. 120, Sylvester is represented in prayer before the enthroned Christ. This miniature

251. J. Strzygowski, *Die Bilderkreis des griechischen Physiologus* (Leipzig, 1899), reprinted (Groningen, 1969); *idem*, 'Der illustrierte Physiologus in Smyrna,' *BZ* 10 (1901), 218-222; O. Demus, 'Bemerkungen zum Physiologus von Smyrna,' *JÖB* 25 (1976), 235-237. Photographs of some miniatures unpublished by Strzygowski may be found in the Collection Gabriel Millet, Paris, and the Bildarchiv of the Austrian National Library, Vienna.

252. Strzygowski, *Bilderkreis*, 15-16, 90.

253. *Ibid.*, 19-20, 89.

254. *Ibid.*, 22-23, 89.

255. *Ibid.*, 23, 89, pl. 5.

256. *Ibid.*, 26-27, 89, pl. 9.

257. *Ibid.*, 27-28, 89, pl. 10.

258. *Ibid.*, 28, 90, pl. 11.

illustrates Chapter 47 on the diamond, which is a type of Christ.²⁵⁹

Strzygowski considered the illuminations to be 11th-century work and closely related to the Theodore Psalter. However, the Palaeologan date recently proposed by Demus is likely.²⁶⁰ There are certainly resemblances to the Theodore Psalter.²⁶¹ The theme of the majority of the miniatures—the triumph of good over evil, particularly in response to prayer—is the same. Also the use of saintly bishops not mentioned in the text to exemplify prayer recalls the Theodore Psalter, although Sylvester does not figure in that. Some of the subjects are common to both manuscripts, as, for example, the unicorn and Spyridon confronting the Arians. However the treatment of this latter theme is different in *Londin. Additional 19352*, f. 107^v,²⁶² and in the Smyrna *Physiologus*. In the Theodore Psalter, Spyridon is alone, on a different level from the Arians, and pointing to an icon. In the Smyrna *Physiologus*, he is accompanied by a larger group of bishops. There is a greater resemblance to representations of the orthodox and heretics in 14th-century wallpainting,²⁶³ and analogous scenes in the *Commentary* of Elias, *Basileensis* A N I 8.²⁶⁴ Another point of resemblance with the miniatures of the *Commentary* is the frequent representation of the devil. One miniature in the Smyrna *Physiologus* portrays the confrontation of Saint Peter and Simon Magus. This also departs from the norms of Psalter illustration of the same theme, for example in the Barberini Psalter, f. 85. Simon is represented prostrate below, possibly about to be trampled by Saint Peter, while, above, a group of devils carry off his body, accompanied by a legend: 'Simon'.²⁶⁵

The manuscript witnesses to the persistence of the use of illustration to comment upon the triumph of good over evil, but with a new insistence, as in the Basle Elias, on the conflict between orthodox and heretical doctrine. It belongs to a different category

259. *Ibid.*, 41, 90.

260. Demus, 'Bemerkungen' (note 251).

261. Der Nersessian, *Theodore Psalter*, 15, 76.

262. *Ibid.*, 42, fig. 176. On p. 103, Strzygowski, *Bilderkreis* (note 251), 36–37, pl. 19, is a scene of personages offering cult to an idol, which recalls the miniature in another Studius manuscript, *Paris. graec.* 74, f. 135^v, see above 61.

263. Walter, *Cónciles*, figs. 54, 56, 58, 60.

264. Walter, 'Commentaire enluminé,' figs. 2, 12.

265. Photograph, Bildarchiv, Vienna (unpublished); Strzygowski identified the scene as Peter baptizing. The miniature, *Bilderkreis*, 19, pl. 20, which he describes as an ordination, is rather a tonsure.

from the *Sacra Parallela*, whose miniatures are related rather to the genres in which the excerpts originate, and from the *De sacerdotio* of John Chrysostom, whose illustrations were inspired by the autobiographical content of the first chapter.

10. Conclusion

In the preceding pages, the incidence of pictures of bishops and ceremonial scenes in Byzantine illuminated manuscripts has been described in considerable detail. Such a presentation was necessary in order that it should be abundantly clear that manuscript illustration was a conservative craft. The simplest formula predominates: the author portrait or frontispiece, accompanied by single miniatures, each summarizing a unit of the text. When new editions were made, presenting the units of the text in the order of the calendar year, the same formula still predominated. New illustrations were rarely created, since the illuminators normally copied or adapted ones that were already available. Of these the most common were portraits and death-scenes.

Happily, however, there were some exceptions to the general rule. Artists sometimes added a few scenes commenting or illustrating a passage of the text. Moreover a few manuscripts exist in which the illustrations throughout are intended to be a commentary. Those which survive from the 9th century provide evidence that a basic repertory of iconographical types had already been established; these then recur in later manuscripts. It is likely, since miniatures used as commentary were usually copied from others illustrating an earlier text, that some of these iconographical types were already ancient. In the 9th-century marginal Psalters, pictures of religious ceremonies and portraits of bishops are not common. Their most significant contribution are the pictures, adapting triumphal imagery, which portray the victory of the Iconophiles over the Iconoclasts, a contemporary invention. However, in *Paris. graec. 510*, there are biographical cycles for bishops, scenes of baptism and episcopal consecration, the celebration of the liturgy and funeral ceremonies.

The influence of the Constantinopolitan Synaxary upon manuscript illustration is best exemplified by the illustrations in the *Menologium* of Basil II and the imperial *Menologia*. Here again

changes were limited: portraits and death-scenes abound. Sometimes, however, rather than portray the event or saint commemorated, artists preferred to substitute a picture of the ceremony performed that day. This was usually the veneration of a relic, for, concomitant with the establishment of an authoritative list of saints venerated in the Constantinopolitan Church, there was a move to deposit as many as possible of their relics in shrines in the capital.

These scenes pass into Lectionary illustration where again, rather than illustrate the passage of the Gospel read on certain feasts, the artists substituted a picture of a ceremony or of the saint commemorated. However this practice was rarely extended to the illustration of the Metaphrastic *Lives* or of the liturgical edition of Gregory's homilies. By the 11th century these new scenes had passed into the general repertory. The Theodore Psalter, another manuscript in which the miniatures comment upon the text, borrows for its illustration from many sources, of which one of the most important was manuscripts of the Synaxary type. Virtually all the saints represented in the Theodore Psalter, of whom a large proportion were bishops, had their shrine in Constantinople. Moreover the artist sometimes replaced the New Testament scenes used to comment upon Psalms in the 9th-century Psalters, by pictures of ceremonies. Thus, for Psalm 33, a communion scene replaces the Feeding of the Five Thousand, while, for Psalm 98, the Exaltation of the Cross replaces the Cross on Calvary.

The influence of other trends in the Byzantine Church on manuscript illumination are less easy to relate to a specific event. The supreme importance of the doctrinal office of bishops was already clear before the 9th century. Author portraits were sometimes modified, although rather in order to bring them into closer relationship with the contents of the manuscript: for instance, Gregory in his *Homilies* is represented preaching and, later, John Chrysostom and Basil, at the head of the text of their liturgies, as celebrating the Eucharist. From the 11th century ceremonies are represented with more attention to ritual detail, while themes reflecting the wisdom of saintly bishops become more common. The changes will be more thoroughly investigated in the two following chapters.

Two theories about Byzantine manuscript illumination should be mentioned here, although it lies outside the scope of the present study to give them full consideration. One theory is that early manuscripts, now lost, were far more extensively illustrated than

those which have survived. If so, it is doubtful that their miniatures would have contained many iconographical types for bishops and ceremonies which are not known from surviving manuscripts. The illustrations to excerpts from homilies in the 9th-century *Sacra Parallela* provide valuable evidence in corroboration of what is known from the Ambrosian Gregory as to the conventions governing the illumination of these texts. However, jejune as they are, they do not increase our knowledge of the repertory of scenes exploited. If, as it is plausible to maintain, the Paris Gregory contains scenes copied from lost chronicles, these scenes are not sufficient in number to make it possible to demonstrate that such manuscripts were frequently or extensively illustrated. The later illuminated manuscripts of chronicles draw, for ceremonial scenes, on the common repertory of iconographical types, for which, in the main, analogies may be found in the illustrations to manuscripts of other texts.

The other theory is that new iconographical types were first created for manuscript illustration and then exploited in other media. There is, as was said at the beginning of this chapter, a certain overlap between manuscript illumination and church decoration. Similar scenes were used to illustrate the text of the Passions of martyrs and to decorate their shrines. The impact of the Constantinopolitan Synaxary on church decoration must have been the same as for manuscript illustration, notably as regards the cycle of Great Feasts. On the other hand the monumental wall-calendar probably gathers together pictures which first accompanied the text of manuscripts of the Synaxary type, although the intermediary would have been the calendar-icon. When scenes or cycles inspired by liturgical hymns, such as the *Akathistos*, were introduced during the Palaeologan period into church decoration, the plausibility of their origin in manuscript illustration is greater.

However there are many programmes and scenes, rarely exploited in other media, which form an essential part of church decoration. They are those which serve, as it were, a propaganda purpose, setting forth the official teaching of the Byzantine Church on its place in the divine providential plan, or defining its relations with imperial authority. Unlike most manuscript illustrations, church decorative programmes, especially those of the apse and cupola, have an ideological structure. It is in studying their development that the office of bishops in the providential plan can best be understood, while manuscript illustration best reflects the place of bishops and ceremonies in the religious life of Byzantine society.

Appendix: Office and ceremony in other media

i. Icons

The icon was primarily a devotional picture, with the portrait of one or more saints. Since bishops did not receive much popular cult, few Byzantine icons of them are known. The most frequently represented saintly bishops were Nicolas of Myra,²⁶⁶ venerated rather as a wonderworker, and John Chrysostom.²⁶⁷ In the official teaching of the Byzantine Church, saints were not isolated personages. Each had his place in the hierarchy of the celestial court.²⁶⁸ The influence of this teaching is manifest in certain icons, particularly the 10th- and 11th-century Deësis triptychs, on which the Virgin and John the Baptist, to the left and right of Christ, make gestures of adoration or intercession.²⁶⁹ Other saints on them, including bishops, were usually represented frontally.²⁷⁰ However, on two late icons at Saint Catherine's on Mount Sinai, a Deësis (fig. 19) and a Holy Face, bishops too make a gesture of prayer.²⁷¹

From the 11th century onwards there exist biographical icons, on which the portrait of the saint is accompanied by scenes taken from his life. Such icons were probably first intended for a shrine where the saint was particularly venerated.²⁷² They served a didactic purpose: the pictures could be expounded in order to edify visiting pilgrims. Some examples are known for Nicolas of Myra,²⁷³ and

266. M. Chatzidakis, *Icons of Patmos* (Athens, 1977), no. 1, 44–45, pl. 1, 77; Bank, *Byzantine Art*, no. 234, 319; G. & Maria Sotiriou, *Ikônes du Mont Sinai* (Athens, 1956), no. 81; Weitzmann, *Icons*, no. 57. Some early Coptic icons of bishops exist, for example, one of Mark in the Cabinet des Médailles, Paris, *Age of Spirituality*, ed. K. Weitzmann (New York, 1979), no. 498.

267. O. Demus, 'Two Palaeologan Icons in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection,' *DOP* 14 (1960), 110–119; on the Loverdan icon as Source of Wisdom, see below, 114.

268. Ch. Walter, *Ikônes* (Geneva, 1978); *idem*, 'Deësis,' *passim*.

269. A. Goldschmidt & K. Weitzmann, *Die byzantinischen Elfenbeinskulpturen des 10.–13. Jahrhunderts*, II, *Reliefs* (Berlin, 1934), nos. 31, Palazzo Venezia, Rome, 32, Museo Cristiano, Vatican, 33, Louvre, Paris; Ioli Kalavrezou-Maxeiner, 'Eudokia Makrembolitissa and the Romanos Ivory,' *DOP* 31 (1977), 305–325. A similar disposition of bishops' portraits is found on steatites, Bank, *Byzantine Art*, no. 152.

270. Walter, 'Deësis,' *REB* 38 (1980).

271. Sotiriou, *Ikônes* (note 266), pls. 128, 198.

272. Patterson-Ševčenko, *Saint Nicholas*. The author shows that for biographical cycles icon-painters did not always follow the same iconographical tradition as illuminators of manuscripts, while, for Nicolas, the evidence that there were extensively illuminated manuscripts of his *Life* is sparse indeed.

273. K. Weitzmann, 'Fragments of an Early St. Nicolas Triptych on Mount Sinai,' *DChAE* 4 iv (1964), 1–23; *idem*, *Icons*, no. 17; Sotiriou, *Ikônes*, pl. 170; V. Djurić, *Ikônes de Yougoslavie* (Belgrade, 1961), no. 25; L. Balbanov, *Ikone iz Makedonije* (Belgrade, 1969), xxxi, pl. 38. Full repertory, Patterson-Ševčenko, *Saint Nicholas*.

one for Basil of Caesarea, on which only one of the scenes, an ordination, can now be surely identified.²⁷⁴ If the number which has survived is any evidence, the biographical icon was painted more frequently in the post-Byzantine period, notably in Russia and Serbia.

Donors or clients of the saint were sometimes represented on icons, as on the mosaic panels in Saint Demetrius, Thessaloniki.²⁷⁵ An unidentified bishop Abraham of Sinai and an unidentified bishop Antony appear on two icons at Saint Catherine's monastery.²⁷⁶ Bishop Nicolas of Ohrid is represented on the metal cover of an icon of the Virgin Psychosostria at Saint Clement, Ohrid.²⁷⁷

Some icons were functional. For example, there was the practice, as described in the *De officiis*, of exposing an icon with a representation of a saint or feast for veneration on the day of the commemoration.²⁷⁸ Such, presumably, were the icons of the *proskynesis* mentioned in inventories.²⁷⁹ Calendar-icons, known from the late 11th century, served the practical purpose of recalling the liturgical commemorations during a period of varying length.²⁸⁰ Their scenes, as in manuscripts depending on the Synaxary and in wall-calendars, include deaths, councils and ceremonies concerned with relics.

The barrier between the sanctuary and the body of the church, as well as the adjacent area, was decorated with pictures from an early date.²⁸¹ In some cases these pictures were icons intended to receive

274. Walter, 'Three Hierarchs,' 248–250, fig. 4.

275. A. Grabar, *Martyrium* (Paris, 1943–1946; repr. London, 1972), II, 87–100; Hoddinott, *Early Byzantine Churches*; R. Cormack, 'The Mosaic Decoration of S. Demetrios, Thessaloniki,' *Annual of the British School at Athens* 64 (1969), 17–52; E. Kitzinger, 'Byzantine Art in the Period between Justinian and Iconoclasm,' *The Art of Byzantium and the Medieval West* (Bloomington/London, 1976), 176–184; Lazarev, *Pittura bizantina*, 73–74, 98 note 382, pl. 48. There were three *ex voto* mosaics with bishops: Demetrius with a bishop and governor, *clipei* of Demetrius with a bishop and deacon, Demetrius with two bishops and two other members of the clergy. Their date has been much disputed; all seem to have been posterior to the 7th-century fire.

276. K. Weitzmann, 'A Group of Early 12th-century Icons Attributed to Cyprus,' *Studies in Memory of David Talbot Rice*, ed. G. Robertson & G. Henderson (Edinburgh, 1975), 55, pl. 21, 22 c; *idem*, *Icons*, no. 19.

277. Djurić, *Ikônes* (note 273), no. 17.

278. *De officiis*, ed. Verpeaux, 189.

279. P. Gautier, 'La Diataxis de Michel Attaliat,' *REB* 39 (1981), 89 line 1192.

280. Sotiriou, *Ikônes* (note 266), pls. 136–145; K. Weitzmann, 'Byzantine Miniature and Icon Painting in the 11th Century,' *Studies*, 296–297.

281. M. Chatzidakis, 'Ikônostas,' *RBK* III, 326–353; *idem*, 'L'évolution de l'icône aux 11^e–13^e siècles et la transformation du templon,' *Rapports et Co-rapports*, 15^e Congrès

cult. Others belong rather to the decorative programme of the apse. Evidence is being progressively discovered which favours the view that pictures were represented continuously on the archivolt or epistyle of the templon.²⁸² From the 13th century the templon programme became progressively richer and more systematized.²⁸³ The focal point was the Great Deësis over the Holy Doors. On another level were the Great Feasts. Bishops may already in the Byzantine epoch have been portrayed in what would later be their regular place on the jambs of the Holy Doors.²⁸⁴ The programme is obviously a synthesis of themes regularly used in church decoration. In the 15th century Symeon of Thessaloniki would provide it with a mystical interpretation,²⁸⁵ but it was only on the Russian iconostasis that icons were set out in such a way as to present all the stages of the divine providential plan.²⁸⁶

ii. Liturgical objects

The decoration of chalices, patens and the covers of Gospel Books is closely related to that of Byzantine apses, although the choice of saints might be personal. On four chalices in the Treasury of San Marco there are enamel portraits of bishops.²⁸⁷ In one case the choice of saints suggests that the chalice was made for the patriarch Theophylact (933–956). Besides a portrait of Theophylact of Nicomedia there is one of Ignatius of Constantinople, who was a eunuch, and is consequently represented without a beard.²⁸⁸

The Communion of the Apostles was represented on two early

International d'Etudes Byzantines, III, *Art et archéologie* (Athens, 1976), 159–191; Ch. Walter, 'The Origins of the Iconostasis,' *ECR* 3 (1971), 251–267, reprinted *Studies*; *idem*, 'Deësis,' *REB* 38 (1980), 261–269. There is no reference in a Byzantine *euchologion* or *diataxis* to icons as having a place in the liturgy. Some *diataxeis*, however, of which the earliest is *Athen.* 662 (12th–13th century), prescribe that the priest should kiss the icons on the templon before entering the sanctuary to vest, Taft, *Great Entrance*, 416.

282. Armazi, dated ca. 864, R. Smerling, *Minor Forms of Architecture in Medieval Georgia* (in Russian), (Tbilisi, 1962); N. Firath, 'Découverte d'une église byzantine à Sébaste de Phrygie,' *CA* 19 (1969), 161–165; *idem*, 'Uşak-Selçukler kazısı ve çevre arastırmaları 1966–1970,' *Türk Arkeoloji Dergisi* 18 ii (1970), 114–116; C. Mango, 'On the History of the Templon and the Martyrion of St. Artemius at Constantinople,' *Zograf* 10 (1979), 40–43.

283. Chatzidakis, *art. cit.* (note 281).

284. Gordana Babić, 'O živopisanom ukrasu oltarskih pregrada,' *ZLU* 11 (1975), schema 19.

285. *De sacro templo* 136, PG 155, 345.

286. Ch. Walter, *Le Monde des Icônes* (Geneva, in press).

287. *Tesoro di San Marco*, II, *Opere bizantine*, nos. 40, 41, 42, 45.

288. No. 40; A. Grabar, 'Un calice byzantin aux images,' *Antiquité et Moyen Age*, 183–187.

Christian patens.²⁸⁹ On the 14th-century steatite paten at Xeropotamou, Mount Athos, the Celestial Liturgy was preferred (fig. 64).²⁹⁰ On a paten in the Treasury of the cathedral of Halberstadt there is a series of bust portraits, which includes a number of saintly bishops.²⁹¹

Three covers of Gospel Books in the Treasury of San Marco resemble icons.²⁹² One, dated to the 10th century, has a portrait of Christ on one side and of the Virgin on the other. The portraits of saints which surround them are chosen from the traditional hierarchy: angels, members of Christ's family, apostles and four bishops, the Three Hierarchs and Nicolas of Myra. On the second the central subject is the Great Feasts, on the third the Crucifixion and Anastasis. In each case saints from the hierarchy, including bishops, are disposed around the border.

iii. *Seals*

The size and material of seals attached by civil and ecclesiastical officials to their correspondence restricted the range of scenes which could be represented on them. Apart from the Cross and other emblems, the most common subject was a portrait, notably of the Virgin.²⁹³ Rare examples are known of seals on which a bishop had his own portrait represented beside his patron saint. Constantine of Corcyra figures between larger portraits of Saints Peter and Paul, while Constantine Mesopotamites appears as a suppliant at the feet of Saint Demetrius.²⁹⁴

Sometimes the patron saint is a bishop. Nicolas of Myra was, once again, the favorite.²⁹⁵ However John Chrysostom, Basil of Caesarea and Gregory the Wonderworker were popular, although not Gregory of Nazianzus. A bishop could also choose a saintly predecessor in his see. Thomas of Lampsacus chose Parthenius,²⁹⁶

289. Stuma paten: Erica Cruikshank Dodd, *Byzantine Silver Stamps* (Washington, 1961), 108; Riha paten: M. Ross, *Catalogue of the Byzantine and Early Medieval Antiquities in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection I* (Washington, 1962), no. 10, 12–15, pls. 12–13.

290. *Treasures I*, 317; Kl. Wessel, 'Himmlische Liturgie,' *RBK III*, 130–131; legend: G. Millet, etc., *Inscriptions de l'Athos I* (Paris, 1904), no. 546.

291. Johanna Fleming, etc., *Dom und Domschatz zu Halberstadt* (Vienna/Cologne, 1972), 240–242, figs. 122–125.

292. *Tesoro di San Marco*, II, *Opera bizantine*, nos. 36, 38, 39.

293. V. Laurent, *Le corpus des sceaux de l'empire byzantin*, V, *L'Eglise* (Paris, 1963–1965), index.

294. *Ibid.*, nos. 803, 464.

295. *Ibid.*, index.

296. *Ibid.*, no. 359.

while Sophronius, Antony and Nicetas of Smyrna chose Polycarp.²⁹⁷ Others chose a saintly bishop of the same name. For example Nicephorus of Madyla chose Nicephorus of Constantinople, and Gregory of Corinth Gregory of Nazianzus.²⁹⁸ Obviously the choice in each case was the personal one of the official to whom the seal belonged.

iv. *Other objects*

Four other objects, unique of their kind, should be added by reason of their interesting iconography. An ivory panel in the Treasury of the cathedral of Trier, commonly believed to have been made for a reliquary in the 6th century, is carved with the scene of the Adventus of a relic.²⁹⁹ Five ivory panels from the so-called Grado Chair are carved with scenes in which Saint Mark figures.³⁰⁰ They have been assigned by different scholars to many different centuries and centres of ivory-carving.³⁰¹ In his recent study of them, Weitzmann opts for the 8th century and a centre where Syrian influence was strong.³⁰² He suggests that they once decorated a church door and that originally there were as many as thirty panels.³⁰³ Four of the panels form a consecutive narrative: Saint Mark evangelizing, miraculously healing Anianus, baptizing Anianus and consecrating him bishop. The fifth panel is broken, so that the scene cannot be identified. Without prejudice to Weitzmann's hypothesis that they once formed part of an extended cycle of the life of Saint Mark, they are treated here as a cycle of Anianus of Alexandria.³⁰⁴

A wooden reliquary of the True Cross in the Museo Sacro of the Vatican was long attributed to the 12th or 13th century.³⁰⁵ Cormack has recently reattributed it to the 10th century.³⁰⁶ Even if it was retouched later, its iconography is more consonant with a 10th- or even 9th-century date. In the Crucifixion scene, Christ has his arms

297. *Ibid.*, nos. 740–743.

298. *Ibid.*, nos. 727, 566.

299. Holum & Vikan, 'Trier Ivory,' 113–133; see below, 145–146.

300. K. Weitzmann, 'The Ivories of the So-called Grado Chair,' *DOP* 26 (1972), 70ff., 80ff., figs. 7–11.

301. *Ibid.*, 45–51.

302. *Ibid.*, 85. Weitzmann's proposed date accords easily with the iconography of the scenes of baptism and consecration; see below, 127, 132.

303. *Ibid.*, 71.

304. See below, 90–91.

305. E. E. Hyslop, 'A Byzantine Reliquary of the True Cross from the Sancta Sanctorum,' *Art Bull* 16 (1934), 333–340.

306. R. Cormack, 'Painting after Iconoclasm,' *Iconoclasm*, 151–153.

outstretched, as in a miniature in the Chludov Psalter, f. 67, while Saint John makes a gesture of adoration, not of mourning. Further, the representation above of the Paraclesis, and not the Deësis, accords better with the early date. On the outer lid is a full-length portrait of John Chrysostom, whose *omophorion* resembles that of bishops in the 9th-century Paris Gregory. On the book which he holds is inscribed Christ's command to love one another (John 13,34 or 15,17). The scene is ecclesiologically important, because this reliquary was in all probability a gift from the bishop of Constantinople to the bishop of Rome, sent at a time when relations between the two sees were friendly. John Chrysostom was an appropriate subject because he was equally venerated in both East and West. There is a record of such a gift in a letter from Nicephorus (806–816) to Leo III.³⁰⁷ He says that he is sending a relic of the True Cross in a container decorated with pictures in encaustic. Although the date would be appropriate for the present reliquary, it does not exactly tally with the description in the letter.

The last object is the so-called Cross of Michael Cerularius in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection.³⁰⁸ Although an 11th-century date is plausible, the hypothesis that it was made for Michael Cerularius is based only on circumstantial possibilities. Among the surviving scenes is one of Sylvester of Rome blessing the emperor Constantine, taken from the legendary account of his conversion. Similar scenes occur in Western art, but no other Byzantine example is known.

307. PG 100, 200; *Regestes*, no. 382.

308. R. Jenkins & E. Kitzinger, 'A Cross of the Patriarch Michael Cerularius, with an Art-Historical Commentary,' *DOP* 21 (1967), 233–249.

CHAPTER THREE

BIOGRAPHICAL SCENES THE WISDOM OF SAINTLY BISHOPS

The first object of the present chapter is to provide a brief survey of biographical scenes and cycles for saintly bishops. After that it will examine in detail the scenes in which is manifest the specific quality of saintly bishops—their wisdom. In these scenes bishops are represented teaching, preaching and writing, defending orthodox doctrine and extirpating idolatry and heresy.

When Christian artists began to represent scenes from the lives of saints, they were principally interested in their passions—trial, torture, martyrdom, and their miracles.¹ Examples of such scenes have survived at Santi Giovanni e Paolo, Rome, dating from the 4th century.² The literary sources provide further information about lost pictures. Prudentius describes a picture at the tomb of Hippolytus of Rome, in which he was represented being torn apart by galloping horses.³ It is also known that the miracles which Martin performed were represented at his shrine in Tours.⁴

Early cycles for bishops were therefore similar to those of other saints consisting principally in their martyrdom and miracles.

Unfortunately none of the shrines at which such scenes were represented have survived in Eastern Christendom. The original shrines fell into disuse as relics were progressively translated to

1. Patterson-Ševčenko, *Saint Nicholas*.

2. G. De Sanctis, *I Santi Giovanni e Paolo* (Rome, 1963), 97–100.

3. Prudentius, *Peristephanou Liber* 11, ed. H. J. Thomson, II (London, 1953), 312–315. The martyrdom scene was obviously inspired by the death of the Hippolytus of Greek mythology, who incurred the resentment of his stepmother Phaedra. Poseidon sent a sea-monster which frightened his horses, so that he was thrown from his chariot and dragged along the shore. The iconographical type was used later for the martyrdom of Eleutherius, Der Nersessian, *Theodore Psalter*, f. 40, 28, fig. 69.

4. Patterson-Ševčenko, *Saint Nicholas*.

Constantinople. Of new shrines built in the capital only that of Saint Euphemia provides some idea of an extensive cycle of a saint's passion.⁵ None of the others have remained after centuries of Turkish occupation. Although the relics of Nicolas continued to be venerated at Myra until they were taken to Bari, there too no paintings exist which would make it possible to reconstruct his original cycle.⁶

Martyrdom and miracles continued, however, to be the most frequently represented scenes in Byzantine hagiographical cycles. Martyrdom was the surest title to immortality. Pictures of the suffering of martyrs edified the faithful, stimulating them, should the circumstances arise, to persevere under torture in their loyalty to Christ. The point is made clearly by Ignatius the deacon in his *Life* of the patriarch Tarasius.⁷ He tells how Tarasius commissioned a series of pictures which could be 'read by the spectator like an open book, and which would fill him with ardour and compunction.' These scenes abound in calendars, synaxaries and volumes of Metaphrastic Lives.⁸

Most Christians were probably more interested in the miracles and prodigies which saints performed. They offered cult to saints less to be filled with edifying sentiments than to receive supernatural favours. They sought protection from the warrior saints George and Demetrius, and health from the medical saints Cosmas, Damian and Panteleimon. It is therefore not surprising that biographical cycles for these saints are relatively common. Bishops, on the other hand, with two exceptions did not excel as wonderworkers. Curiously there are no biographical scenes for Gregory the Wonderworker. For Nicolas of Myra cycles are numerous, although the earliest extant example, the fragments of a triptych at Saint Catherine's, Mount Sinai, dates only from the 11th century.⁹

The next addition to the Christian biographical cycle was a scene of conversion. In hagiography this was often the result of a prodigy. Eustathius, for example, saw the crucified Christ placed between the

5. R. Naumann & H. Belting, *Die Euphemiakirche am Hippodrom zu Istanbul und ihre Fresken* (Berlin, 1966).

6. Patterson-Sevčenko, *op. cit.*

7. Wanda Wolska-Conus & Ch. Walter, 'Un programme iconographique du patriarche Tarasios,' *REB* 38 (1980), 247-260, esp. 248.

8. Mijović, *Menolog, passim.*

9. See above, 79 and note 273.

antlers of the stag which he was hunting. These prodigies also occurred in the lives of future bishops. Anianus was miraculously healed by Saint Mark, a scene which is represented on an ivory of the so-called Grado chair.¹⁰ This has recently been dated to the middle of the 8th century. The prodigies preceding a conversion are represented in the 9th-century *Paris. graec.* 510. Cyprian of Antioch renounced his magical practices, thanks to the prayers of the saintly virgin Justina, f. 332^v. Gregory of Nazianzus the elder owed his conversion to a dream, f. 87^v.¹¹

A few biographical scenes for saintly bishops, other than their conversion, death and miracles, date from before the 9th century, but most of the surviving examples are later. Moreover the material is not abundant; full biographical cycles are rare. More often artists produced partial cycles, or narrative sequences for a single event which may be called anecdotal. Sometimes they produced a single typical scene to epitomize the life of a saintly bishop, which could be rendered yet more summary by reduction to an attribute like the basket-work cap of Spyridon of Trimithus. Although in Byzantine art portraits of over three hundred bishops exist, pictures with a biographical reference, other than to death, exist for less than thirty. Three lived in the 1st century: Ananias of Damascus, Anianus of Alexandria and Clement of Rome. Three lived in the 3rd or 4th century: Cyprian of Antioch, Gregory the Illuminator of Armenia and Hypatius of Gangra. Ten, the largest number, lived in the 4th or 5th century: Peter, Athanasius and Cyril of Alexandria, Nicolas of Myra, Spyridon of Cyprus, the two Gregories of Nazianzus, Basil of Caesarea, John Chrysostom of Constantinople and Sylvester of Rome. Two lived in the 7th century: John the Almoner of Alexandria and Gregory of Agrigentum. Four lived in the 9th century: Nicephorus and Methodius of Constantinople, and the Grapti brothers, Theophanes and Theodore. From that date, no doubt because the Constantinopolitan Synaxary had been established, there was a 'Serrata del Gran Consiglio'. The only later saintly bishops for whom biographical scenes exist belong to the daughter Slav Churches. There remains the borderline case of John Mauropus.

10. See above, 83.

11. Omont, *Miniatures*, 18–19, 26–27, pls. 30, 47.

1. Survey of biographical cycles and scenes

i. Full cycles

A conventional biographical cycle existed in antique art.¹² It began with birth, often accompanied by prodigies, continuing with the first bath and childhood scenes such as learning to walk and going to school. There could follow outstanding events in the person's life or scenes typifying his principal office. The cycle ended with death.

In Christian art the full biographical cycle was used mostly for the Virgin and John the Baptist.¹³ However the antique conventions obviously inspired the full cycles in *Paris. graec.* 510. That for Gregory himself, f. 452, illustrating the *Life* by Gregory the Priest, begins with a childhood prodigy: the prayers of his mother Nonna save him from death by shipwreck.¹⁴ His consecration as bishop marks the most important stage in his career (fig. 34). Finally he is buried. The cycle for Basil also begins with a childhood prodigy, f. 104: Basil and his parents who have taken refuge from Arian persecutors, are nourished by wild beasts.¹⁵ Basil and Gregory are then represented together studying in Athens. Instead of a consecration scene, the artist has portrayed Basil writing, thus typifying his principal activity. Two salient events from his life then follow: his attempt to heal the emperor's son and his protection of a widow from the local prefect. The cycle ends with a funeral scene. The third full cycle is for Cyprian of Antioch. f. 332^v.¹⁶ After attempting to

12. E. Will, *Le relief culturel gréco-romain* (Paris, 1955); M. Lawrence, 'Three Pagan Themes in Christian Art,' *Festschrift Panofsky*, 327–331; A. Hermann, 'Das erste Bad des Heilands und des Helden in spätantiken Kunst und Legende,' *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum* 10 (1967), 61–81; L. Berczelly, 'A Sepulchral Monument from the Via Portuense and the Origin of the Roman Biographical Cycle,' *Acta* 8 (1978), 49–74.

13. A. Grabar, *Christian Iconography, a Study of Its Origins* (London, 1966); P. J. Nordhagen, 'The Origin of the Washing of the Child in the Nativity Scene,' *BZ* 54 (1961), 333–337; Gordana Babić, 'Sur l'iconographie de la composition "Nativité de la Vierge" dans la peinture byzantine,' *ZRVI* 7 (1961), 169–175; E. Kitzinger, 'The Hellenistic Heritage in Byzantine Art,' *DOP* 17 (1963), 100–105.

14. Omont, *Miniatures*, 31, pl. 60; PG 35, 244–304, *BHG*, 723; P. Gallay, *La vie de saint Grégoire de Nazianze* (Lyons/Paris, 1943); N. Drandakes, *Iconography of the Three Hierarchs* (in Greek), (Jannina, 1969), 11–12; Walter, 'Three Hierarchs,' 235–236.

15. Omont, *Miniatures*, 19–20, pl. 31; PG 36, 494. In the Ambrosian Gregory, Basil's parents are nourished by birds, Grabar, *Grégoire de Nazianze*, pl. 24.

16. Omont, *Miniatures*, 26–27, pl. 47. The confusion made by Gregory in his homily between the converted magician, Cyprian of Antioch, and the learned doctor, Cyprian of Carthage, has received scholarly attention, H. Delehay, 'Cyprien d'Antioch et Cyprien de Carthage,' *AB* 29 (1921), 314–342; J. Coman, 'Les deux Cyprien de saint Grégoire de Nazianze,' *Studia Patristica* 4 ii, Texte und Untersuchungen 79 (Berlin, 1971), 363–372. The iconography merits a more detailed study. Discrepancies between illustration and text, not only in the Paris Gregory but also in the Menologium of Basil II, p. 80, provide evidence for a

seduce the virgin Justina by his spells, he seeks conversion from the local bishop. He is then baptized. The cycle ends with his martyrdom.

Although these cycles are related to the texts which they accompany, they are not entirely dependent on it. The *Life* by Gregory the Priest gives no detailed information as to the manner of its subject's death. Similarly, Cyprian is represented being boiled in pitch, an incident recounted in his *Passion* but not mentioned in the homily.

The only other full biographical cycles for a bishop are those for Nicolas of Myra.¹⁷ Nearly thirty examples are known from the 11th to the 15th century. However, with one exception, the miracles represented in the late volume of *Metaphrastic Lives*, Athos Dionysiou 50, f. 32,¹⁸ all the cycles appear on icons or in monumental painting. The full biographical cycle had been constituted by the time that the first extant examples were painted. Nevertheless it is possible to reconstruct plausibly the stages of its development. In its earliest form, the Nicolas cycle consisted of his miracles and his death. It could have been represented already at Myra in the 6th century, for a shrine already existed there at that date, or in Constantinople, where an early shrine is also attested.¹⁹ The evidence in favour of a primitive miracle cycle is strong. An *Encomium* dating from the 9th or 10th century describes a scene of Nicolas saving the lives of three men of Myra.²⁰ Moreover the miracle cycle persists, as, for example, at Ramača, as well as in Athos Dionysiou 50, after the full biographical cycle had become current.²¹ That the death scene was created before the 11th century may

lost Passion cycle for Cyprian of Antioch. His practice as a magician is represented in two manuscripts of the liturgical redaction, Turin University Library C I 6, ff. 42^v–43 (personal observation), and *Paris. graec.* 543, f. 87^r, Galavaris, *Gregory Nazianzenus*, fig. 459. His trial before Decius is illustrated in *Paris. Coislin.* 239, f. 53, *ibid.*, fig. 216. Scenes of his execution occur in the same redaction, *Paris. Coislin.* 239, f. 54, *Sinait.* 339, f. 397, *Paris. graec.* 543, f. 87^v, *ibid.*, figs. 218, 397, 459. A further scene of his revelation of the whereabouts of his relics could also come from a cycle, *Paris. Coislin.* 239, f. 55, *ibid.*, fig. 220. Cyprian the learned doctor appears in Turin University Library C I 6, f. 39 (personal observation), *Paris. graec.* 533, f. 58, *Sinait.* 346, f. 227, *ibid.*, figs. 243, 353. However this may reflect increasing interest from the 11th century in the teaching office of bishops.

17. Patterson-Ševčenko, *Saint Nicholas*, G. Anrich, *Hagios Nikolaos*, I, *Die Texte* (Berlin, 1913), II, *Prolegomena, Untersuchungen, Indices* (Berlin, 1917).

18. Unfortunately not illustrated in *Treasures* I.

19. R. Janin, *La géographie ecclésiastique de l'Empire byzantin, Les églises et les monastères de Constantinople* 2nd ed. (Paris, 1969), 368–377.

20. Patterson-Ševčenko, *Saint Nicholas*.

21. J. Radovanović, 'Nekoliko retko prikazivanih čuda sv. Nikole,' *ZLU* 13 (1977), 205–216.

be inferred from the persistence of an archaic iconographical type in Nicolas cycles. From the 11th century it became the practice to represent the lying-in-state of a deceased person. However, for Nicolas the earlier theme of entombment continued to be used.²²

The cult of Nicolas became widespread in the 8th and 9th centuries. In 809 the Arabs sacked Myra. The restoration of the shrine after the sacking of the city could have been the occasion for creating a full cycle. Another possible occasion would have been after 1034, when the Arabs again sacked Myra. It is known that John Orphanotrophus, whom Nicolas healed, restored the shrine at that time. Of these two dates the 9th century is more probable, not only because the archaic form of death scene was maintained but also because the Nicolas cycle is virtually bereft of scenes concerned with the doctrinal office of bishops. Such an omission is unlikely in a cycle created in the 11th century.

In the full cycle for Nicolas the first scene is usually his birth, accompanied by his first bath. His prodigious future is already clear, for, like Alexander the Great, he was strong enough to stand on his feet. There may follow a scene of Nicolas going to school. His consecration as bishop, sometimes preceded by his ordination as deacon and priest (fig. 33), marks the most important moment in his career. The artist then selected from the many miracles attributed to Nicolas. Only one is strictly concerned with his doctrinal office: the smashing of idols so as to drive out the demons which inhabited them (fig. 14). The cycle ends with his death. Once the cycle was established, it underwent little modification, although there is considerable variety in the choice of miracles. It is, however, noticeable that in later cycles the ordination of Nicolas as deacon and priest is regularly represented as well as his consecration as bishop. The incident which witnesses most dramatically to his zeal for orthodoxy, when he slapped the face of Arius at the first council of Nicaea, appears only in post-Byzantine cycles.

ii. *Partial cycles*

A number of cycles for saintly bishops are known only in a form which is incomplete. In general it is not possible to be sure whether the scenes which are lacking ever existed, or whether they have been lost. The series of scenes for Anianus of Alexandria on the ivories of the so-called Grado chair begins with his miraculous healing by

22. See below, 139.

Saint Mark; it continues with his baptism and ends with his consecration as bishop.²³ The cycle for Gregory of Nazianzus the elder in *Paris. graec.* 510, f. 87^v, is limited to his conversion.²⁴

The apocryphal *Life* by the Pseudo-Amphilocius was the source for three cycles for Basil of Caesarea, one, in Santa Maria in Gradellis, Rome, dating from the 9th century, and the two others in Tokalı kilise 2 and Balkan Dere 3, Cappadocia, dating from the 10th century.²⁵ The text which inspired them is a popular catechism, which presents Christian doctrine in relation to a series of prodigies supposed to have occurred in Basil's life. At Santa Maria in Gradellis there survives only the scene of Basil absolving a sinful woman, accompanied by his death.²⁶ At Tokalı kilise 2, de Jerphanion noted five scenes now virtually obliterated.²⁷ They illustrate a quarrel between Arians and Orthodox about a church in Nicaea, a meeting between Basil and Ephrem and Basil's absolution of a sinful woman. At Balkan Dere 3 it is possible to identify only pictures of Basil baptizing a converted Jew, his death and his burial.²⁸

The cycle for Theophanes and Theodore Grapti in the Madrid Skylitzes, f. 50^v–51, illustrates the account of the persecutions which they underwent during the reign of Theophilus.²⁹ It is based upon ancient cycles of passions, but introduces an original scene, in which Theophanes, dressed as a bishop disputes with the Iconoclast emperor (fig. 15). On the other hand the key scene in which verses are

23. See above, 83.

24. PG 35, 985–1044, *BHG*, 714; R. Janin, 'Gregorio di Nazianzo,' *Bibliotheca sanctorum* 7, 204–205. He is commemorated in the 14th-century Synaxary *Paris. graec.* 1582, January 1, *Syn CP*, 345. Since there is no *Life* other than his son's funeral panegyric, it is unlikely that his cycle was represented elsewhere. See above, 87 note 11.

25. Jacqueline Lafontaine, *Peintures médiévales dans le temple dit de la Fortune Virile à Rome* (Brussels/Rome, 1959), 35–40, pls. 11–12; de Jerphanion, *Eglises rupestres* I 1, 262–265, I 2, 358–365; *idem*, 'Histoires de saint Basile dans les peintures cappadociennes et dans les peintures romaines du Moyen Age,' *La voix des monuments* (Rome/Paris, 1938), 153–158; Pseudo-Amphilocius, *Vita sancti Basilii, SS. Patrum Amphilocii Iconiensis ... opera omnia*, ed. F. Combefis (Paris, 1644), 155–177, *BHG*, 247, dated by the Bollandist Baert to the 8th or 9th century; Walter, 'Three Hierarchs,' 243–250.

26. Lafontaine, *loc. cit.*

27. De Jerphanion, *loc. cit.*

28. Walter, 'Three Hierarchs,' 245–247, fig. 1–3, pl. L.

29. Grabar & Manoussacas, *Skylitzès*, nos. 120–122; Walter, 'Saints of Second Iconoclasm,' 23–24. Both reappear, dressed as bishops, f. 67^v, *Skylitzès*, no. 168. In one Metaphrastic volume, Athos Lavra 51 D (427), f. 156, see above, 50, Theodore is represented dressed as a monk. In the Menologium of Basil II, p. 276, he is dressed as a bishop. Theophanes is presumably the Homologetes of that name whose portrait occurs at Saint Sophia, Ohrid, Radojčić, 'Prilozi,' 369.

inscribed on their foreheads, which has been preserved in the illustration of marginal Psalters, is omitted.³⁰

The biographical cycle for Cyril of Alexandria in the diaconicon of the church of the Trinity, Kiev, has been dated by Lazarev to the second half of the 12th century, after the conquest of the city by Vsevolod II.³¹ The cycle once included at least thirteen scenes. Some legends which have now disappeared were deciphered by Prahov in the last century. There are no scenes concerned with the early life of Cyril. He is shown once curing two men possessed by demons and once aboard ship. His death is also represented. Six other scenes are directly concerned with his office as doctor of the Church. In four he is teaching or preaching; in two he is taking part in the council of Ephesus, affirming sound doctrine and condemning heretics. A final picture in which the Virgin is blessing Cyril and Athanasius refers perhaps to their part in defining the doctrine of Christ's human nature.

The cycle for Arsenije I of Serbia in the church of the Bogorodica, Peć, was painted when Danilo II was archbishop (1324–1337).³² Arsenije I (1234–1267) was the immediate successor of Sava I, founder of the national Church of Serbia. The scenes portray the ordination of Arsenije as deacon and priest and his consecration as bishop, followed by his death. It has been noted that they closely

30. Theodore Psalter, f. 120^v, Barberini Psalter, f. 155, Der Nersessian, *Theodore Psalter*, 45, 74, fig. 197.

31. I. Grabar, *History of Russian Art* (in Russian) I (Moscow, 1953), 215–218, figs. 217, 219, 221; Lazarev, *Pittura bizantina*, 265 note 186; Babić, *Chapelles annexes*, 121–122; H. V. Blinderova, 'Lives of Cyril and Athanasius of Alexandria in Cycles of the Church of Cyril, Kiev' (in Russian), *Old Russian Art, Monumental Painting, 11th–17th Century* (in Russian) (Moscow, 1980), 52–60.

32. Djurić, 'Istorijske kompozicije,' *ZRVI* 11 (1968), 99–103; Babić, *Chapelles annexes*, 139, fig. 102. Apart from the virtually obliterated paintings at Gradac of the Translation of his relics, Djurić, *art. cit.*, *ZRVI* 10 (1967), 121–131, no cycle for Sava from the Byzantine epoch is extant. Two cycles at Hilandar, one in the refectory, dated 1621, the other in the chapel dedicated to him, dating from the 18th century, G. Millet, *Monuments de l'Athos* (Paris, 1927), pl. 107, D. Bogdanović, etc., *Hilandar* (Belgrade, 1978), 156, 162, 186, as well as the icon at Morača, painted by Kir Kosmas in 1645, *Sveti Sava, Spomenica povodom osamstogodišnjice rođenja*, ed. Jovan, Bishop of Šabac and Valjevo (Belgrade, 1977), which is obviously based on the Nicolas cycle, witness to an iconographical tradition for Sava. It has been argued that a Sava cycle, dating from the Byzantine epoch, was the model for these later paintings, V. Petković, 'Legenda svetoga Save u starom živopisu srpskom,' *Glas srpske kraljevske akademije* 106 (1923), 97–131. See also, I. Dujčev, 'Sava,' *Bibliotheca sanctorum* 11, 522–530; Mirjana Ćorović-Ljubinković, 'Uz problem ikonografije srpskih svetitelja,' *Starinar* 7–8 (1956–1957), 77–90; Desanka Milošević, 'Ikonografija svetoga Save u srednjem veku,' *Sava Nemanjić*, 279–318.

follow similar scenes in the developed cycle of Nicolas of Myra, to whom Danilo II had a special devotion.

A Psalter dating from about 1400, Athos Vatopediou 761, f. 232, contains scenes described in the accompanying legend as the Prayer of John Chrysostom.³³ They are virtually identical with an earlier cycle in the exonarthex of the church of Hilandar, which was heavily restored in 1804. The three scenes at Hilandar portray John Chrysostom reciting the office, offering his works to the Lord and being inspired by Saint Paul. It has been suggested by Xyngopoulos that these three scenes are all that remains of a more developed cycle.

Unfortunately there is little evidence which would render such a hypothesis plausible. None of the conventional scenes of a biographical cycle for John Chrysostom have survived, even if they ever existed.³⁴ His shrine was the church of the Holy Apostles, where he was interred on January 27, 438.³⁵ His tomb in the new church built by Justinian was observed by an Armenian visitor in the 10th century.³⁶ Later Nicolas Mesarites described its silver effigy, but he made no allusion to a possible cycle of paintings.³⁷ Death-scenes for John Chrysostom exist only in post-Byzantine art.³⁸ The same is true of his episcopal consecration. John Chrysostom's departure into exile is represented in the Menologium of Basil II, p. 178, as is the translation of his relics, p. 353. In some marginal Psalters he presides at the ceremony of the Exaltation of the Cross.³⁹ John Mauropous also describes a picture of the vision of bishop Adelphius, in which he sees John Chrysostom in heaven standing beside the throne of God, but this picture also is only known in post-Byzantine art.⁴⁰ If

33. K. Weitzmann, 'The Psalter Vatopedi 761—Its Place in the Aristocratic Psalter Recension,' *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 10 (1947), reprinted *Liturgical Psalters and Gospels*; A. Xyngopoulos, 'Restitution et interprétation d'une fresque de Chilandar,' *Hilandarski Zbornik* 2 (1971), 93–98; Walter, 'Three Hierarchs,' 258.

34. Walter, 'Three Hierarchs,' 250, 259–260; Drandakes, *Iconography* (note 14), passim.

35. Baur, *Johannes Chrysostomus* II, 372–383.

36. Oukhtanes of Ourha, *Histoire*, in *Deux historiens arméniens*, ed. M. Brosset (Saint Petersburg, 1870), 275.

37. Mesarites, *Holy Apostles*, ed. Downey, 890.

38. A. Xyngopoulos, 'Observations on the Dormition of Chrysostom and Accompanying Scenes' (in Greek), *EEBS* 9 (1932), 351–360.

39. See below, 154–155.

40. *Iohannis Euchaitorum metropolitae quae in codice vaticano graeco 676 supersunt*, ed. J. Bollig & P. de Lagarde (Göttingen, 1882), 11; PG 120, 1138; Xyngopoulos, 'Observations'. The story of the vision is ancient, first recounted in the *Spiritual Meadow* of John Moschus (before 619), ed. M.-J. Rouët de Journel, *Sources chrétiennes* 12 (Paris, 1946), 180–181; PG 87(3), 2991; Baur, *Johannes Chrysostomus* II, 387.

these pictures were ever united in a cycle, there is no means of demonstrating when and where this took place.

The commemoration of Peter of Alexandria in the Menologium of Basil II, p. 205, is illustrated by two scenes, one of his vision of the Christ child, the other of his martyrdom. Since it was recounted in his *Passion* that Peter was visited in prison by the infant Christ wearing a torn tunic, the association of the two scenes may be ancient.⁴¹ They appear again together in the liturgical roll Jerusalem, Stavrou 109, where they illustrate the prayer of preparation for communion.⁴² The iconography of the vision has now, however, become more complex. The Christ child floats above the altar, while Arius is placed below being swallowed by a dragon.

In the *Passion*, the Christ child explains to Peter that the tear in his garment is due to schism in the Church. The allusion to schism becomes explicit when Arius is introduced.

The picture was then detached from the scene of martyrdom. It was placed regularly next to that of the first Council of Nicaea, although Peter of Alexandria did not take part in it.⁴³ It was also placed in the neighbourhood of the sanctuary of churches from the 14th century.⁴⁴ The Christ child now actually stands on the altar, a sign that the original vision has now been entirely reinterpreted in a Eucharistic sense (fig. 20).⁴⁵

iii. *Anecdotal cycles*

A number of cycles are concerned with only a single event in a saintly bishop's life. They occur in manuscript illustration, although they do not always depend directly on the text which they accompany.

The incident of Basil protecting the widow, which figures in the full cycle in *Paris. graec.* 510, recurs in illustration to an excerpt from Gregory's homily in the 9th-century *Sacra Parallela*, *Paris. graec.* 923, f. 300.⁴⁶ It was also chosen for illustration in some manuscripts of the liturgical edition of Gregory's homilies, together with his attempt to heal the emperor's son.⁴⁷

Another incident, recounted by the Pseudo-Amphilocius in his

41. Millet, 'Pierre d'Alexandrie,' 99-115.

42. Grabar, 'Rouleau liturgique,' 479, pl. 132a.

43. Walter, *Conciles*, 246-248.

44. Dufrenne, *Mistra*, 33-34.

45. See below, 213-214.

46. Weitzmann, *Sacra Parallela*, 230-231, fig. 647.

47. Galavaris, *Gregory Nazianzenus*, 127-130; Walter, 'Three Hierarchs,' 244-245.

Life of Basil and other texts, is illustrated in the frontispiece to Gregory's homily against Julian the Apostate, *Paris. graec.* 510, f. 104, although there is no allusion to it in his text.⁴⁸ Basil sees Mercurius unhorsing Julian in a dream. On awakening he calls the faithful to a liturgy of thanksgiving. If this incident was illustrated in the full cycles for Basil based on the *Life* by the Pseudo-Amphilocius, no example has survived.

Further examples for other saintly bishops occur in illuminated manuscripts of Gregory's *Homilies*. His funeral oration for his father in the 9th-century Ambrosian manuscript is illustrated with scenes of the elder Gregory rising from his sickbed to be present at the episcopal consecration of Basil and pardoning priests who had been critical of his conduct.⁴⁹ The homily pronounced on the occasion of his resignation from the see of Constantinople is illustrated with two scenes in *Paris. graec.* 510, f. 239.⁵⁰ He takes leave of the emperor Theodosius and boards ship to return to Nazianzus. The former scene recurs alone in illustration to the same homily in *Paris. graec.* 543, f. 288^v (fig. 51), and the latter in Jerusalem Taphou 14, f. 265.⁵¹ The homily itself contains no allusion to these events, although they are recounted in his *Life*.

The frontispiece of John Chrysostom's treatise *De sacerdotio* in the 11th-century manuscript *Paris. graec.* 799, f. 1, is made up of four scenes which illustrate only his refusal of the priesthood.⁵² John and his friend Basil plan to lead a monastic life; John's mother Anthusa, recumbent on the bed on which she had given birth to him, dissuades him from following his vocation; Basil is consecrated bishop; John justifies his deceitful conduct to Basil.

Two anecdotal cycles in the Theodore Psalter have obviously been recopied from an earlier example, not only because they are only indirectly relevant to the text but also because the artist presents the scenes out of their proper order. In illustration to Psalm 39,2: 'He brought me up out of a pit of misery', Gregory the Illuminator of

48. Omont, *Miniatures*, 29, pl. 54; Pseudo-Amphilocius, *Vita Sancti Basilii* (note 25), 179–183. Weitzmann suggests that the scene originated in an illustrated chronicle, 'Illustrations for the Chronicles of Sozomenus, Theodoret and Malalas,' *Byz* 16 (1942–1943), 108–117, reprinted *Book Illuminations and Ivories*.

49. Grabar, *Grégoire de Nazianze*, pls. 18–20.

50. Omont, *Miniatures*, 24, pl. 41; Der Nersessian, 'Gregory of Nazianzus,' 215, pl. 12; Walter, 'Three Hierarchs,' 242.

51. Galavaris, *Gregory Nazianzenus*, figs. 120, 467.

52. Walter, 'Three Hierarchs,' 250–252, fig. 5; Jean Chrysostome, *Sur le sacerdoce*, ed. Anne-Marie Malingrey (Paris, 1980), 60–99; PG 47–48, 623–632.

Armenia is portrayed being rescued from the pit into which he had been thrown by order of the king.⁵³ In the accompanying scene, he leads king Tiridates and the queen towards a church. These incidents are known from the *Life* of Gregory the Illuminator. It is reasonable to suppose that the miniatures are an excerpt from a more extended cycle which has not survived. In illustration to Psalm 26,12: 'False witnesses have risen up against me', Gregory of Agrigentum is portrayed being triumphantly vindicated from his calumniators.⁵⁴ Two clerics, Sabinus and Crescentius, introduce a prostitute into Gregory's cell. The prostitute gives false witness against Gregory. Then, possessed by a demon, she falls to the ground. Again the incident is recounted in the *Life* of Gregory of Agrigentum; an illustrated version may have provided the model for these miniatures.

Another attempt at calumny is illustrated in the Madrid Scylitzes. In the text of the chronicle there is a long interpolation concerned with the iniquitous deeds of the Iconoclast patriarch John the Grammarian. Here the miniatures, ff. 65^v-67, directly illustrate the text, and were probably created for this purpose.⁵⁵ The mother of bishop Metrophanes of Smyrna was bribed to accuse Methodius of having violated her. Methodius, indicted before the emperor, provides irrefutable evidence of his innocence. He is congratulated by his friends, to whom he explains that, during a visit to Rome, Saint Peter miraculously rendered him incapable of performing the act imputed to him. Finally the meretricious lady is indicted for false witness and menaced with swords.

A final example of an anecdotal cycle is provided by the miracle of Clement of Rome.⁵⁶ The full version accompanies the account of the miracle which figures as an appendix to the *Life* of Clement in the 11th- or 12th-century Metaphrastic volume, Athos Dochiariou 5, f. 389^v. Clement's tomb was submerged off the coast near Cherson in the Crimea. However each year at the date of his feast the sea receded. The citizens of Cherson then foregathered at the tomb to celebrate a liturgy in honour of the saint. In the first scene they are portrayed at

53. Der Nersessian, *Theodore Psalter*, 29, 96-97, fig. 82; *eadem*, 'Les portraits de Grégoire l'Illuminateur dans l'art byzantin,' *Byz* 36 (1966), 386-395.

54. Der Nersessian, *Theodore Psalter*, 25, 96-97, fig. 51.

55. Grabar & Manoussacas, *Skylitzēs*, nos. 162-167; Walter, 'Saints of Second Iconoclasm,' 314-316.

56. Walter, 'Saint Clement,' 253-260.

the tomb, beside which a child is asleep. In the second scene they depart as the sea flows back, forgetting the child who is now standing beside the tomb from which Clement has emerged. In the last scene the citizens return the following year to the tomb, where they find the child whom Clement has miraculously preserved. The *Menologium* of Basil II, p. 204, is illustrated only with the last scene of the cycle, in which the citizens are returning the following year to the tomb.

These anecdotal cycles by no means form a homogeneous group. Some can be shown to be excerpts from extended biographical cycles, because examples of them in their full context are known. For others it may be inferred that they have been extracted from a developed cycle which has not survived. However yet others, notably John Chrysostom's refusal of the priesthood, the calumny of Methodius, and the miracle of Clement, seem to be complete in their present state.

iv. *Individual scenes*

The majority of available pictures of scenes taken from the lives of saintly bishops do not figure in a biographical cycle. It is possible that some scenes were created to figure in a biographical cycle, although they are only known from examples which have been transferred to a new context or integrated into a new programme. However others were probably conceived as single autonomous pictures, intended to typify either the episcopal office in general or the specific achievement of an individual saintly bishop. Since Byzantine artists were prone to adapt existing iconographical types to a new subject rather than create something original, there are few basic themes which are restricted to saintly bishops. Moreover the exploitation of these themes is not always strictly biographical. An iconographical type related to a bishop's function could, however, be adapted by the addition of details so as to refer to a specific event in his life.

The themes of imperial imagery which were transferred to the triumph of Christ were later extended to all those who took part in the struggle for the victory of good over evil.⁵⁷ Saint Peter triumphs over Hades and Simon Magus;⁵⁸ warriors saints spear dragons or

57. A. Grabar, *L'empereur dans l'art byzantin* (Strasbourg, 1936; reprinted London, 1971), *passim*; E. Lucchesi-Palli, 'Anastasis,' *RBK* I, 143–144.

58. Walter, 'Triumph of the Martyrs,' 30, fig. 10; Der Nersessian, *Theodore Psalter*, 74.

human enemies;⁵⁹ martyrs revenge themselves on their persecutors;⁶⁰ popes subdue their rivals.⁶¹

The Church's first victory was over paganism, which could be represented by a picture of a saintly bishop smashing idols. The legendary 7th-century *Life of Spyridon of Trimithus* by Theodore of Paphos refers to a scene over the central door of the saintly bishop's shrine in Cyprus, in which he was represented overturning idols.⁶² This theme persists in the iconography of Nicolas of Myra (fig. 14). Closer to triumphal imagery is the picture of Theophilus in the Alexandrian World Chronicle triumphing over the cult of Serapis. He stands upon a shrine inside which is placed a statue of the goddess.⁶³

Saintly bishops may be represented triumphing over evil in general, as when Hypatius of Gangra subdues a dragon, a picture which appears at his commemoration in the Menologium of Basil II, p. 181, and again in the Imperial Menologium *Mosquen. graec.* 183, f. 158.⁶⁴ More curious is the miniature of Ananias of Damascus in the Metaphrastic volume *Vatican. graec.* 1679, f. 3.⁶⁵ It forms one of a series of scenes of martyrs revenging themselves on their persecutors; Ananias is strangling Lucianus. However normally when triumphal imagery was used for saintly bishops they are prevailing over heretics.

This imagery was used in its most violent form in the 9th-century marginal Psalters to illustrate the triumph of Nicephorus over John Grammaticus.⁶⁶ The Iconophile patriarch tramples on the Iconoclast (figs. 12, 13). In the imagery of councils the submission of

59. Ch. Walter, 'St Demetrius: the Myroblytos of Thessalonika,' *ECR* 5 (1973), 166–167, 176–177 reprinted *Studies*.

60. Walter, 'Triumph of the Martyrs,' 31–33.

61. Ch. Walter, 'Papal Political Imagery,' *CA* 20 (1970), 162–166, figs. 4–9.

62. P. Van Den Ven, *La légende de saint Spyridon, évêque de Trimithonte* (Louvain, 1953), 88–91; Patterson-Ševčenko, *Saint Nicholas*.

63. Bauer & Strzygowski, *Alexandrische Weltchronik*, 122, pl. VI^r.

64. D. K. Treneff & N. P. Popoff, *Miniatures du Ménologe grec du 11^e siècle, no. 183 de la bibliothèque synodale à Moscou* (Moscow, 1911).

65. Walter, 'Triumph of the Martyrs,' 32, fig. 1.

66. Ščepkina, *Chludov Psalter*, f. 51^r; Ch. Walter, 'Heretics in Byzantine Art,' *ECR* 3 (1970), 44, reprinted *Studies*. For Nicephorus, see above, 57 note 139 and below, 110 note 127. A number of pictures of Nicephorus occur in the Madrid Scylitzes, illustrating events in the reigns of Michael I, Leo V and Michael II: f. 10, enthroned with Michael I, Grabar & Manoussacas, *Skylitzès*, no. 1; ff. 20^v–21, his departure and arrival in exile in 815, *ibid.*, nos. 33, 34, an event recounted in his *Life* by Ignatius the Deacon, ed. C. De Boor (Leipzig, 1880), 201, *BHG*, 1335; writing letter from exile to Michael II, *Skylitzès*, no. 54, *Life*, 209.

heretics was represented by a less violent scene.⁶⁷ The heretics make a gesture of prostration. Later an alternative formula was introduced: the orthodox bishops dispute with the heretics. This was used in what may be considered the typical scene of the biography of Spyridon. In the Barberini Psalter, f. 133^v, and the Theodore Psalter, f. 107^v, he extends one hand towards a group of Arians and another towards an icon of Christ.⁶⁸ In the Smyrna *Physiologus*, f. 18, the scene takes the form of a straightforward confrontation of orthodox and heretics (fig. 16). These pictures refer to the account given by Theodore of Paphos of Spyridon's part in the first council of Nicaea. Although he was a simple man, he was able to refute the theses of a group of sophisticated Arian philosophers and convert them to orthodoxy.

The theme of prayer was a general one which was sometimes used for saintly bishops, although rarely in a biographical context. To the orant type which is used for Apollinarius of Ravenna in his shrine of Sant'Apollinare in Classe succeeded the type of a figure in profile with outstretched arms.⁶⁹ Saints of all categories are represented in prayer in the Menologium of Basil II. In the Theodore Psalter it is evident that prayer is considered to be an activity of the just man, and moreover that bishops were the outstanding examples of the just. The Three Hierarchs exemplify them, f. 35^v, in illustration to Psalm 32,1: 'Rejoice in the Lord, ye righteous; praise becomes the upright.'⁷⁰ Moreover, among the saints represented in prayer in this Psalter bishops predominate. Eleven miniatures represent a named saintly bishop praying.⁷¹ Yet only once is the scene related to a specific event. On f. 95^v, illustrating Psalm 73,7: 'They have burnt thy sanctuary with fire to the ground', Anthimus of Nicomedia prays beside a church in which the faithful are burning to death.⁷²

Prayer could also take the form of reciting the office. An example from the cycle for John Chrysostom at Hilandar has been noted above. Basil of Caesarea is also represented reciting the morning office, a candle in his hand, in illustration to Psalm 5,3: 'In the morning thou shalt hear my voice', in the Barberini Psalter, f. 9^v

67. Walter, 'Heretics,' 45–47; *idem*, *Conciles*, 142, 258.

68. Der Nersessian, *Theodore Psalter*, 42, 76, fig. 176; Van Den Ven, *La légende* (note 62), 43.

69. See below, 182.

70. Der Nersessian, *op. cit.*, fig. 60; Walter, 'Clergy in the Theodore Psalter,' 240.

71. Walter, *art. cit.*, 234.

72. Der Nersessian, *op. cit.*, 39, 93, fig. 155.

(fig. 22), and the Theodore Psalter, f. 3^v.⁷³ In neither case is the scene related to a specific event.

The supreme prayer was the celebration of the Eucharist. In Byzantine art the celebrants are almost invariably bishops. However, although from the 12th century pictures of the Eucharist abound in apse programmes and in author portraits in liturgical rolls, scenes of the Eucharist with a biographical reference are rare. Basil's liturgy in thanksgiving for the death of Julian the Apostate in *Paris. graec.* 510 has been already noted.⁷⁴ The account in the *Life* by the Pseudo-Amphilocius of the revelation to Basil of the words of the liturgy inspired the scene of him celebrating in the sanctuary of Saint Sophia, Ohrid.⁷⁵ The pictures of Peter of Alexandria celebrating, as has been noted, originate in a biographical cycle but are rather a reinterpretation of his vision in a liturgical sense.

Charitable action is represented above all in illustration to the homily of Gregory of Nazianzus, *De paupere amore*. In *Paris. graec.* 510, f. 149, the miniature for this homily shows Gregory and Basil tending the sick in a large basilica.⁷⁶ This picture may refer to the hospitals constructed by Gregory described in the *Life* by Gregory the Presbyter. The same homily is illustrated in Athos Panteleimon 6, f. 257, by a picture of the two Gregories giving alms, without reference to a specific event.⁷⁷ In the Theodore Psalter, f. 23^v, in illustration to Psalm 21,24: 'For he has not despised nor been angry at the supplication of the poor,' there is a miniature of John the Almoner giving alms.⁷⁸ The choice of this saintly bishop requires no explanation. Again the scene has no biographical reference. Unfortunately it does not recur in other contexts, so that it is impossible to know whether this was the typical way of representing John the Almoner. Some of the miracles of Nicolas of Myra, particularly the provision of a dowry for three maidens, exemplify the charitable activity of a saintly bishop.⁷⁹

73. *Ibid.*, 18, fig. 7; Walter, 'Jakov of Serres,' 70, fig. 13.

74. See above, 95 note 48.

75. See below, 195.

76. Omont, *Miniatures*, 21, pl. 34; Der Nersessian, 'Gregory of Nazianzus,' 207, pl. 7; Drandakes, *Iconography* (note 14), correctly associates the miniature with a reference in the *Life* by Gregory the Priest to the charitable activity of Gregory of Nazianzus, 16, 32 note 104; Walter, 'Three Hierarchs,' 239.

77. Galavaris, *Gregory Nazianzenus*, fig. 179; Walter, 'Three Hierarchs,' 239-240.

78. Der Nersessian, *Theodore Psalter*, 23, fig. 42.

79. Patterson-Ševčenko, *Saint Nicholas*.

By far the largest number of pictures in which a saintly bishop is engaged in some activity are scenes of preaching, teaching and writing. This is due in part to the fact that homily illustration provides much of the available material, together with author portraits. In general these scenes are functional, although sometimes artists added details referring the picture to a specific occasion.

The preaching scene, in which the saintly bishop stands addressing his audience, derives from the imperial allocution, the emperor haranguing his people.⁸⁰ It was already an established iconographical type in the 9th century, for it is widely used in the Ambrosian Gregory. In this manuscript and in the illuminated *Commentary* by Elias of Crete on Gregory's homilies, the artists took special pains to relate the miniature to the occasion of the homily. In *Paris. graec.* 510, the preaching formula is less often used. However, for Gregory's first homily *De pace*, f. 52^v, delivered sometime before 364, when Gregory was obliged to establish peace between his father and the monks of Nazianzus, the artist has portrayed the two Gregories standing under a baldacchino behind an altar.⁸¹ Each holds a book in his right hand while extending his left hand in a speaking gesture. To the right of the scene monks and citizens exchange the kiss of peace. The miniature illustrating this homily in the Ambrosian Gregory, p. 102, is mutilated, but in the miniature illustrating Gregory's second homily *De pace*, p. 119, monks are represented in the audience.⁸² In the miniature illustrating the first of these homilies in the manuscript of the *Commentary* of Elias, f. G^v, Gregory's father rests his hand on his cheek in a conventional gesture of sorrow. In illustration to the second homily, f. H^v, there are two preaching scenes: one Gregory addresses a group of bishops and citizens, while the other addresses the monks.⁸³ A further example of such adaptation is provided by the illustration to Psalm 48; : 'Hear these words all ye nations', in the Theodore Psalter, f. 60, where John Chrysostom is represented preaching to a group of exotically dressed personages.⁸⁴ However here, rather than represent a specific event, the artist has presented John Chrysostom as the successor of Saint Paul as apostle of the Gentiles.

80. Walter, 'Papal Political Imagery,' *CA* 20 (1970), 174; *idem*, 'Gregory of Nazianzus,' 200.

81. Omont, *Miniatures*, 16, pl. 24.

82. Grabar, *Grégoire de Nazianze*, pls. 9 ii, 12.

83. Walter, 'Commentaire enluminé,' 120–122, figs. 7, 8.

84. Der Nersessian, *Theodore Psalter*, 32, fig. 97.

The teaching scene has two forms, both of which derive from antique art.⁸⁵ In the first the personage is seated with his pupils standing beside him. It was adapted in early Christian art to the catechist instructing a neophyte, and continued to be used in Byzantine art for an apostle instructing his converts. It appears in the 9th-century *Sacra Parallela*, f. 300, to illustrate an excerpt from John Chrysostom's diatribe against Eutropius.⁸⁶ Eutropius, who had often instigated the violation of sanctuary, was himself obliged in 399 to take refuge in Saint Sophia. In the miniature John Chrysostom is seated making a speaking gesture, while Eutropius stands beside him. This iconographical type was also used sometimes in the illustration of the liturgical edition of Gregory's homilies. Again the occasion is defined by the personage whom Gregory is addressing.

The second form, which was more widely used, portrays the teacher seated upon a *synthronon* with his disciples either side of him. Originally used for sages and their disciples, it was adapted for Christ and his apostles, and again for ecumenical councils. If this type was used to illustrate Gregory's homily on the occasion of his resignation as bishop of Constantinople in seven manuscripts of the liturgical edition, it was because this occurred at an ecumenical council.⁸⁷

The doctor or author seated at a desk writing his treatise is again an antique iconographical type, which was most commonly used as a frontispiece. Its integration into the cycle for Basil in *Paris. graec.* 510, without reference to any specific event, has already been noted.⁸⁸ For John Chrysostom, however, the author portrait was developed into a biographical scene.⁸⁹ In the *Life* by George of Alexandria and those by subsequent authors it is told that three nights running John's companion Proclus observed a personage whispering in his ear as he wrote. Bald like Elijah, the personage resembled a portrait hanging on the wall of the room. John Chrysostom understood from the description given by Proclus that

85. Walter, *Conciles*, 166–171, 188–195; *idem*, 'Gregory of Nazianzus,' 199–202.

86. Weitzmann, *Sacra Parallela*, 241, fig. 697.

87. Walter, 'Gregory of Nazianzus,' 201.

88. See above, 88.

89. F. Halkin, *Douze récits byzantins sur saint Jean Chrysostome*, Subsidia hagiographica 60 (Brussels, 1977), 142–148. The story is taken up by Leo the Wise, *Oratio* 15, PG 107, 256–257, by Symeon the Metaphrast, PG 114, 1104–1108, and other biographers. Bauer, *Johannes Chrysostomus* I, 247; Walter, 'Three Hierarchs,' 252.

this personage was Saint Paul and that his prayer for guidance in the understanding of Saint Paul's writings had been answered by the apostle himself.

The picture of Saint Paul inspiring John Chrysostom, based upon the antique type of a Muse inspiring a poet which was used in the Rossano Gospels for the Evangelists, became his iconographical type. It is the only scene used to illustrate the Metaphrastic Life of John Chrysostom. It appears in the liturgical roll Stavrou 109 to illustrate the Ectene after the Gospel,⁹⁰ and replaces the scene of John preaching to the Gentiles in illustration to Psalm 48,1, in the Hamilton Psalter, f. 109. Sometimes it appears quite out of context, as in the Gospel Book, Cambridge University Library Additional 720, f. 133,⁹¹ or in the *Commentary* by the Pseudo-Oecumenius on Saint Paul's Epistles, *Vatican. graec.* 766, f. 2^v.⁹² This 11th-century miniature, bound into a 14th-century manuscript, is the finest example. John Chrysostom is seated writing before a lectern on which a roll is placed. Proclus stands in the doorway. Saint Paul leans over John's shoulder, while a large icon of him is suspended above. The inspiration of John Chrysostom was the point of departure for the development of the iconography of the Sources of Wisdom, which will be discussed in the second part of this chapter.

v. *Attributes and assimilations*

Byzantine artists gave some saintly bishops a special attribute which had significative value. Others they represented according to the portrait type of an earlier saint, implying that the later bishop had similar qualities to those of his predecessor.

On icons of Nicolas of Myra, Christ and the Virgin are regularly represented respectively presenting him with a Gospel book and an *omophorion*.⁹³ The explanation of this attribute is to be found in a legend, first recounted in the *Vita compilata*, dating from the 9th or 10th century, that Christ and the Virgin intervened at the episcopal consecration of Nicolas to present him with the insignia of his office. Their intervention is never represented as a scene in the biographical

90. Grabar, 'Rouleau liturgique,' 477.

91. G. Galavaris, *The Illustrations of the Prefaces in Byzantine Gospels* (Vienna, 1979), fig. 49.

92. R. Devreesse, *Codices Vaticani Graeci III* (Vatican, 1950), 281; Xyngopoulos, 'Source of Wisdom,' 16, fig. 4.

93. The earliest example is the 10th-century (?) mosaic icon on Patmos, see above, 79 note 266.

cycle. This may be why the original significance of the attribute was forgotten and a new interpretation proposed. According to the new legend, which first appears in a 14th-century Latin text, Nicolas was present at the first council of Nicaea. The vigour of his reactions to Arius so outraged the other bishops that they suspended Nicolas from his episcopal functions and put him in prison. Christ and the Virgin, on the contrary, were impressed by his doughty defence of orthodox doctrine. They reinvested Nicolas in prison with his episcopal insignia.⁹⁴

A number of bishops are represented with a special head-dress.⁹⁵ In some cases this refers to the see which they occupied; in others to an event in their lives. Popes of Rome were sometimes, but by no means invariably, represented with a mitre. There may be cited the examples of Sylvester in the church of Saint Nicolas Orphanus, Thessaloniki,⁹⁶ and of Leo in a picture of the council of Chalcedon at Cozia, Rumania.⁹⁷

For bishops of Alexandria the practice varied according to the period. Athanasius was represented with a mitre on an icon which has been attributed to the 7th century.⁹⁸ Further examples are known from the 9th century, in the Ambrosian Gregory, p. 318 and in the *Sacra Parallela* as well as in the lost mosaic portrait in Saint Sophia, Constantinople.⁹⁹ The attribute persists in his portrait in the Menologium of Basil II, p. 329.¹⁰⁰ However there are no later examples. In the *Sacra Parallela*, Cyril of Alexandria is represented bareheaded, although he too was given a mitre in his portrait in Saint Sophia.¹⁰¹ In later portraits he regularly wears a mitre. Its form varies: in Saint Sophia it was of loose material and ornamented

94. Patterson-Ševčenko, *Saint Nicholas*; texts, Anrich, *Hagios Nikolaos* (note 17).

95. Walter, 'Jakov of Serres,' 66–68.

96. Xyngopoulos, *Nicolas Orphanus*, fig. 83. Sylvester probably figured in biographical cycles of Constantine, one of which is known to have been painted in the church of Saint Polyuctus, Constantinople, commissioned by Juliana Anicia, *Epigrammatum Anthologia Palatina* I 10, ed. F. Dubner (Paris, 1864), 3; Janin, *La géographie ecclésiastique* (note 19), 405. The only surviving scene from this cycle in Byzantine tradition is that on the so-called Cross of Michael Cerularius, see above, 84 note 308. For Sylvester in *Vatican. graec.* 752, see above, 60 note 167.

97. Walter, 'Jakov of Serres,' 68, fig. 8.

98. Weitzmann, *Mount Sinai*, no. B 24.

99. Weitzmann, *Sacra Parallela*, 204–205, figs. 540–544.

100. Mango & Hawkins, 'Church Fathers,' 18–20, figs. 37–39; C. Mango, *Materials for the Study of the Mosaics of Saint Sophia at Istanbul* (Washington D.C., 1962), 52, 54, 141, figs. 61, 75.

101. Weitzmann, *Sacra Parallela*, 222–223; Mango, *Materials*, 53–55, pls. 61, 74.

with a cross; at Hosios Loukas (fig. 6) and in the church of the Holy Apostles, Peć, it is tightfitting.¹⁰² Normally when he wears a *polystavrion* his mitre is decorated with black and white crosses. With the exception of one portrayal of Peter in a mitre in the prothesis of the church at the monastery of Marko, Sušica,¹⁰³ other bishops of Alexandria are all represented bareheaded.

Byzantine authorities, notably Theodore Balsamon and Symeon of Thessaloniki, recognized that the patriarch of Alexandria had the privilege of keeping his head covered when celebrating the liturgy.¹⁰⁴ They traced the privilege back to the council of Ephesus, at which Cyril of Alexandria presided in the absence of the Roman pontiff. Since Athanasius had been long dead when the council of Ephesus was held, the practice of representing him bareheaded from the 11th century may have been inspired by a desire to be historically authentic. Thus, as an attribute in Byzantine iconography, the mitre was later referred to a biographical event, Cyril's part in the council of Ephesus.

The earliest portrait of Spyridon wearing a bonnet of plaited straw is that in the Menologium of Basil II, p. 239. A possible explanation of this attribute could be that the Greek word *spuris* means basket. However, according to a legend recounted by Theodore of Paphos in his *Life*, Constantine, lying sick at Antioch, had a vision of a multitude of bishops, among whom only one was capable of healing him. Various bishops presented themselves, but none corresponded to those whom he saw in his vision, until Spyridon appeared, accompanied by his disciple Triphyllius, wearing a rustic cloak and a cap plaited like a basket.¹⁰⁵ Curiously, miniatures of Spyridon disputing with the Arians do not show him wearing his cap (fig. 16).¹⁰⁶

Methodius of Constantinople was represented in Saint Sophia wearing a head-dress knotted under his chin.¹⁰⁷ This recurs in later portraits, notably in the church of the Peribleptos, Ohrid (fig. 7),

102. Diez & Demus, *Byzantine Mosaics*, fig. 29; V. Djurić, 'Sveti Sava Srpski—novi Ignjatije Bogonosac i drugi Kiril,' *ZLU* 15 (1979), pl. 1.

103. Grozdanov, 'Markov Manastir'.

104. Theodore Balsamon, PG 119, 1196; PG 138, 1048; Symeon of Thessaloniki, PG 155, 716–717.

105. Van Den Ven, *La légende* (note 62), 43; Walter, 'Jakov of Serres,' 67.

106. See above, 99 note 68.

107. Mango, *Materials* (note 100), 51–56, figs. 61, 66–68; Cormack & Hawkins, 'Rooms above the Vestibule,' 227–228, fig. 40.

and of Saint George, Staro Nagoričino.¹⁰⁸ In the anecdotal cycle in the Madrid Scylitzes he is bareheaded.¹⁰⁹ According to the 12th-century chronicler Michael Glykas, the emperor Theophilus had the patriarch's jaw-bones dislocated because he had spoken out in favour of icons. In consequence for the rest of his life he was obliged to hold his jaws in place with a band of linen knotted under his chin. The earlier chroniclers, Symeon Magister and Zonaras, refer only to the dislocation of his jaws.¹¹⁰ Therefore either Glykas used an independent source, or, writing three centuries after the death of Methodius, he invented this explanation of the attribute.

In theory strict rules governed portrait painting in the Byzantine Church, and in practice these rules were respected for pictures intended to receive cult. It was important that the portrait should be as faithful as possible to its prototype, in order that prayers addressed to it should more easily reach the saint in heaven. Portrait types were early established for the more frequently represented saints. In the absence of a portrait type an artist was obliged either to improvise or to copy the portrait of another saint who bore the same name or who was in some way associated with the one whose likeness he had to paint. Quite apart from doctrinal considerations, the Byzantines were curious about the physical appearance of their saints, so that descriptions often figure in their Lives. For artists themselves there existed manuals, of which the earliest known is that by Ulpius the Roman, written between 850 and 950.¹¹¹ It contains detailed descriptions of the physical appearance of eleven bishops. Some of them have established portrait types: Gregory of Nazianzus, Basil of Caesarea, Gregory of Nyssa, Athanasius of Alexandria, John Chrysostom and Cyril of Alexandria. Three others, Cyril of Jerusalem, Dionysius the Areopagite and Eustathius of Antioch, were less frequently represented. Two, Tarasius and Nicephorus of Constantinople, were virtually contemporary with the author of the manual.

108. Walter, 'Jakov of Serres,' 66-67.

109. See above, 96.

110. Michael Glykas, *Annals*, ed. Bonn, 538; PG 158, 540; Symeon, *Annals*, PG 109, 705; Zonaras, *Annals*, ed. Bonn, III, 734; PG 134, 1409; D. Stiernon, 'Metodio,' *Bibliotheca sanctorum* 9, 382-393.

111. Preserved in *Paris. Coislin*. 296, ff. 68-71, attributed by R. Devreesse, *Le fonds Coislin* (Paris, 1945), 277-281, to the 12th century. M. Chatzidakis, 'From the works of Elpius the Roman' (in Greek), *EEBS* 14 (1938), 393-414; Mango, *Art*, 214-215, 265; Mango & Hawkins, 'Church Fathers,' *passim*, esp. 27-31. Two forms of his name—Elpius and Ulpius—occur.

So far as the significative value of portraits is concerned, the most important practice was that of assimilation. That Gregory of Nyssa's portrait should resemble that of his brother Basil of Caesarea, as Ulpius proposed, is not surprising. However Ulpius also wrote that Tarasius resembled Gregory of Nazianzus, and Nicephorus, Cyril of Alexandria. The practice of assimilating some saintly bishops to distinguished predecessors was therefore deliberate and intended to call attention to their common qualities.

The practice of representing bishops of Rome in the likeness of Saint Peter is already attested in the 9th-century *Sacra Parallela* for Clement of Rome.¹¹² It may be further exemplified by the series of portraits of popes in the 11th-century church of Saint Sophia, Ohrid.¹¹³ Gregory of Nazianzus resembles John the Evangelist, for they shared the common title of 'Theologus'.¹¹⁴ For John Chrysostom there were several closely related traditions.¹¹⁵ However, in scenes of Saint Paul inspiring him, the artist sometimes introduces a close resemblance in his portrait to that of the apostle, of whose writings John Chrysostom was the most authorized interpreter.¹¹⁶

Some further examples of assimilation may be noted in the portraiture of bishops venerated by the Slavs. Cyril and Methodius found no place in the Byzantine Synaxary.¹¹⁷ However Cyril, with the titles of philosopher and teacher of the Slavs, figures already in the 11th century in Slav liturgical books.¹¹⁸ In his portrait at Saint Sophia, Ohrid, he has no distinctive features.¹¹⁹ In three later churches, that at Staničenje near Pirot, dated 1331/2, the contemporary one near Berende, Bulgaria,¹²⁰ and a rock church

112. Weitzmann, *Sacra Parallela*, 221–222. Clement of Alexandria, represented similarly, is presumably copied from Clement of Rome; anomalously, he often wears an *omophorion*, *ibid.*, 220–221. It was yet more anomalous to represent Philo as a bishop, *ibid.*, 252–255. For Methodius of Olympus, copied from Methodius of Constantinople, see above, 73 note 242.

113. Radojčić, 'Prilozi,' 367.

114. H. Buchthal, 'Some Notes on Byzantine Hagiographical Portraiture,' *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 62 (1963), 81–90.

115. O. Demus, 'Two Palaeologan Icons in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection,' *DOP* 14 (1960), 110–119; Mango & Hawkins, 'Church Fathers,' 30–31.

116. See below, 112.

117. Mirjana Ćorović-Ljubinković, 'Odras kulta Ćirila i Metodija u balkanskoj srednjovekovnoj umetnosti,' *Simpodium 1100-godišnina od smrti na Kiril Solunski I* (Skopje, 1970), 123–130.

118. Radojčić, 'Prilozi,' 368.

119. Ćorović-Ljubinković, 'Odras kulta Ćirila,' fig. 2 (with incorrect title).

120. A study of Staničenje, by the late R. Ljubinković, forthcoming; personal observation and information kindly communicated by Mr and Mrs Ljubinković; Elka Bakalova,

dedicated to the Dormition near Ohrid,¹²¹ he wears the mitre and has the facial features of Cyril of Alexandria. At Staničenje, in fact, both saintly bishops figure in the apse. Clement of Ohrid, the disciple of Cyril and Methodius, who with his brother Naum exercised an apostolate in Macedonia, was sometimes represented with the features of Clement of Rome. The most striking resemblance may be observed in their portraits, dated 1295, in the Peribleptos, Ohrid.¹²²

For Sava of Serbia there exists a good portrait likeness at Mileševa, where the church was built as his shrine. Elsewhere, however, this portrait likeness is not always respected.¹²³ For example, in the apse of the church at Sopoćani Sava is placed in the line of officiating bishops next to Ignatius of Antioch.¹²⁴ There is also a certain resemblance in their portraits. In his *Life*, Domentijan makes an explicit comparison between Sava and Ignatius of Antioch, whose title 'Theophorus' he attributes to him. Here again the assimilation is deliberate.

vi. *Conclusion*

Sufficient pictures exist for it to be possible to form a general notion of the place of biographical scenes in Byzantine art. From early Christian times and throughout the Byzantine period the events which most interested the faithful were the death and miracles of a saint. Such scenes were probably first represented at his shrine or in accounts of his trial and martyrdom. In either case they were related to his cult, which was inspired by the honour due to one who had merited immortal life and who, from heaven, could intervene on earth in favour of his clients. To these scenes were later added others relating to the conversion of a future saint and to the childhood prodigies which were an augury of his future eminence.

The full biographical cycle, for which precedents were available in antique art, was little practised. Examples exist for Gregory of

Wallpaintings in the Church near the Village of Berende (in Bulgarian), (Sofia, 1976), 12, 24–25, figs. 9–11.

121. Corović-Ljubinković, 'Odraž kulta Ćirila', fig. 1 (with incorrect title).

122. C. Grozdanov, 'O portretima Klimenta Ohridskog u ohridskom živopisu 14 veka,' *ZLU* 4 (1968), 103–118; *idem*, 'Odnosot medju portretite na Kliment Ohridski i Kliment Rimski vo živopisot od prvata polovina na 14 vek,' *Simpodium* (note 117), 99–107, esp. figs. 1–2; *idem*, *Ohridsko Slikarstvo*, *passim*.

123. Milošević, 'Ikonoografija svetoga Save' (note 32), *passim*.

124. Djurić, 'Sveti Sava' (note 102), 95–96, 98–99, fig. 2.

Nazianzus and Basil from the 9th century. However only for Nicolas are they numerous and then only from the 11th century. In the Nicolas cycle the event which most clearly relates to his episcopal status is his consecration. Cycles for Nicolas are particularly numerous not because he was a bishop but because he was an efficient wonderworker.

Although individual biographical scenes exist for a number of bishops, artists were more interested in representing them performing some office appropriate to the episcopal state, notably preaching, teaching and writing. This may be because these pictures recur most often in frontispieces to treatises or in illustrations of homilies. Sometimes, by the addition of details, artists related these activities to an event in the saintly bishop's life. Pictures of bishops celebrating the liturgy are also common, but, except for Basil of Caesarea and Peter of Alexandria, this subject was not adapted to an event in the saintly bishop's life.¹²⁵ In fact the only historical scene which recurs frequently for many saintly bishops is that of their consecration. It will be discussed in the chapter on the iconography of ceremonies.

There is a marked disproportion between the number and variety of literary Lives of saints and the number and variety of biographical scenes and cycles. Not only were Lives of new saints written throughout the Byzantine epoch, but new Lives or *encomia* of those who already had an established place in the Synaxary.¹²⁶ The latter practice has points in common with the developments which took place in biographical scenes. There is evidence not only of change in the iconographical types which were used but also of change in the interpretation of these types as well as of the events to which they referred.

As a category of saints, bishops distinguished themselves by extirpating paganism and heresy. It was particularly on the occasion of ecumenical councils that they manifested their prowess. At a council orthodoxy triumphed over error. It was usual, therefore, at the beginning, to represent heretics prostrate before the council fathers. This triumphal imagery was also used for the victory of the

125. A unique example exists also for the saintly *hieromonachos* Euthymius: fire descends while he is celebrating the liturgy, Thalia Gouma-Peterson, 'St. Euthymius in Thessalonika: Art and Monastic Policy under Andronicos II,' *Art Bull* 58 (1976), 177, fig. 13. The parecclesion of Saint Euthymius in the basilica of Saint Demetrius was renovated in 1303, *ibid.*, 168.

126. *The Byzantine Saint*, ed. S. Hackel (London, 1981), *passim*.

Iconophiles over the Iconoclasts. Although the triumphal scene continued to be used, a new type was created, which was used in the late 13th century at Sopoćani, in which the orthodox bishops dispute with the heretics. Already in the Theodore Psalter, f. 27^v, a scene had been introduced to illustrate Psalm 25, in which Theodore the Studite and Nicephorus dispute with the Iconoclast emperor Leo V.¹²⁷ A similar scene appears in the Madrid Scylitzes, f. 51, to illustrate Theophanes Graptus disputing with the Iconoclast emperor Theophilus (fig. 15). The choice of the same iconographical type for the two saintly bishops is the more striking, because the account of Theophanes disputing with Theophilus is based on that of Nicephorus and Leo V.¹²⁸ Although the controversy with the Iconoclasts traumatized the Byzantine Church for a long time, it seems that by the 11th century the issues raised began to lose their importance. The archetypal experience of heresy, that of conflict with Arius over the divine nature of Christ the Son of God, again became predominant. It was a sign of prestige for a saintly bishop to have taken part in the first council of Nicaea. Although the legend is much earlier, it is likely that Spyridon was first represented converting Arians in the 11th century, because the iconographical type of a dispute was used. The association of Peter of Alexandria with Arius is first explicit in the Jerusalem liturgical roll, usually dated to the 12th century. However, it may be that the bishop celebrating the liturgy in the miniature in the Theodore Psalter, f. 37^v, in which Arius is refused communion, is Peter of Alexandria, although he is not named.¹²⁹ As has been seen, the portraits of Christ and the Virgin presenting Nicolas with a Gospel book and *omophorion* were also to be reinterpreted in the light of his dispute with Arius. By a similar process, the attribution of a mitre to Cyril of Alexandria was also interpreted in the light of his part in the council of Ephesus.

The prowess of saintly bishops in defending orthodox doctrine derived from their wisdom. From the 11th century this theme of wisdom inspired new iconographical types which must now be discussed.

127. Der Nersessian, *Theodore Psalter*, 24, 73, fig. 48. The event, recounted in the *Lives* of Nicephorus, P. J. Alexander, *The Patriarch Nicephorus of Constantinople* (Oxford, 1958), 129–132, D. Stiernon, 'Niceforo,' *Bibliotheca sanctorum* 9, 871–884, *BHG*, 1335–1337, has no parallel in the Madrid Scylitzes, see above, 198 note 66.

128. J.-M. Featherstone, 'The Praise of Theodore Graptos by Theophanes of Caesarea,' *AB* 98 (1980), 98; Walter, 'Saints of Second Iconoclasm,' 312–313.

129. Der Nersessian, *Theodore Psalter*, 27, 75, fig. 64.

2. The wisdom of saintly bishops

The Byzantine Church considered that three saintly bishops were endowed with wisdom to a supreme degree. They were John Chrysostom, Gregory of Nazianzus and Basil of Caesarea, and they received the title of the Three Hierarchs. Their special cult as the Three Hierarchs is closely connected with the name of John Mauropous.¹³⁰ Born around the year 1000, John Mauropous was appointed bishop of Euchaita in the middle of the 11th century. Tradition makes him live on into the reign of Alexius Comnenus (1081–1118). Mauropous wrote a number of poems describing icons.¹³¹ His description of an icon of Saint Paul inspiring John Chrysostom is roughly contemporary with the first extant examples of this iconographical type, although there is no reason why it should not have existed much earlier (fig. 23). The same is true of his description of an icon of the Three Hierarchs. They are first represented together as a group in the Theodore Psalter, f. 35^v, as typifying the just.¹³²

Towards the end of the life of Mauropous, according to the Synaxary, there was a controversy as to which of the Three Hierarchs was the greatest.¹³³ He was able to resolve it, because they all appeared to him in a vision, maintaining that they were equal, for they derived their wisdom from the same Holy Spirit. A feast of the Three Hierarchs was instituted, for which Mauropous wrote an *oikos*.¹³⁴ He compared the Trinity illuminating the intellectual creation with the triad of hierarchs illuminating the visible creation, which consists of four elements. Gregory breathed fire, Basil air and 'he who is gold in heart and mouth' water. By their eloquence they led the way from earth to higher things. A unique representation of the vision of John Mauropous exists in the 14th-century programme decorating a chapel at the Afendiko (Brontochion), Mistra.¹³⁵ The

130. Giovanni Mauropode, *Otto canoni paracleti a N. S. Gesù Cristo*, ed. Enrica Follieri (Rome, 1967), contains the best account of what is known of John Mauropous.

131. Ed. Bollig & de Lagarde (note 40), esp. nos. 13–17, 9–10; PG 120, 1134–1136.

132. Der Nersessian, *Theodore Psalter*, 26, fig. 60.

133. PG 29, cccxc–cccxciii.

134. S. G. Mercati, 'Presunti giambi di Demetrio Triclinio sulla festa dei Tre Gerarchi Basilio, Gregorio Nazianzeno e Giovanni Cristostomo,' *Miscellanea Liturgica in Honorem L. Cuniberti Mohlberg* I (Rome, 1948), 419–427, reprinted, *Collectanea Byzantina* I (Rome, 1970), 529–537.

135. Millet, *Mistra*, pl. 103; Dufrenne, *Mistra*, 12, 45, 60. Dated by Xyngopoulos about 1366, 'Source of Wisdom,' 6.

Three Hierarchs are seated on thrones before John Mauropous. He too has a halo, although the evidence for his cult as a saint is slight.¹³⁶

Whatever the official view, it is clear from iconography that John Chrysostom was, in fact, considered to be the wisest of the Three Hierarchs. In the sanctuary of Saint Sophia, Ohrid, a picture of him being infused with the gift of wisdom is paired with one of Basil being inspired with the words of the liturgy.¹³⁷ John is lying on a bed, at the foot of which stands a group of apostles with Saint Paul in front. At its head stands a personification of wisdom. Rays of light enter John Chrysostom's head from that of the personification who is placing a roll in John's mouth. Further, the scene of John Chrysostom being inspired by Saint Paul was to provide the type for the iconography of the Sources of Wisdom.

The first move towards the creation of this new theme is exemplified by a miniature illustrating the 12th-century manuscript of John Chrysostom's Homilies, *Ambrosian*. I 72 sup. (65), f. 263^v (fig. 24).¹³⁸ Numerous scholars have written about this miniature without, however, exhausting its interest. As in earlier representations of the inspiration of John Chrysostom, Saint Paul stands behind him. The icon of Saint Paul, however, has disappeared, and Proclus no longer stands in the doorway, but kneels in the foreground in an attitude of prayer. Above, in the righthand corner, Christ, in bust form, extends his hand from a segment. Light falls from the segment on to an extended roll, placed on a lectern, at the very point where John Chrysostom is writing. The other end of the roll is transformed into a stream of water. Behind it a group of bishops is placed; some are kneeling and drinking from the stream.

John Chrysostom and Saint Paul are named in legends. There are also two other texts inscribed on the folio. On John Chrysostom's roll is the beginning of his *Argumentum Epistolae ad Romanos*.¹³⁹ Above the miniature is a phrase from his Homily I *In epist. ad*

136. S. G. Mercati, 'Ufficio di Giovanni Mauropode di Euchaïta composto dal nipote Teodoro,' *Mémorial Louis Petit* (Bucharest, 1948), 347-350, reprinted, *op. cit.*, 513-528.

137. C. Grozdanov, 'Slika Javljanja Premudrosti sv. Jovanu Zlatoustom u sv. Sofiji Ohridskoj,' *ZRVI* 19 (1980), 147-155.

138. Xyngopoulos, 'Source of Wisdom,' 23-24, fig. 7; Drandakes, *Iconography* (note 14), 18; Tanja Velmans, 'L'iconographie de la "Fontaine de vie" dans la tradition byzantine à la fin du Moyen Age,' *Synthronos* (Paris, 1968), 120-121. Velmans, note 9, gives an incorrect reference to Migne and wrongly identifies the text at the top of the folio.

139. PG 60, 391, correctly transcribed by Xyngopoulos, 'Source of Wisdom,' 24.

Ephesios 1,1.¹⁴⁰ The earlier part of the text of this homily is written on the preceding folios but breaks off at the very point where he is writing of baptism. On the following folio, 264, there begins John Chrysostom's *Commentary* on the Galatians. It is not possible to be certain that there is a deliberate association between baptism and the water flowing from John Chrysostom's roll. In view of the text inscribed on the roll, it is possible that the miniature is displaced.

Water symbolism was widely exploited in Christian tradition, particularly in Saint John's Gospel.¹⁴¹ It was the source of eternal life, received by baptism. Among the graces received by the neophyte was that of true wisdom. As a soul panting after God he was likened to the hart earnestly desiring the fountains of water (Psalm 41,1). These themes are appositely combined in a miniature illustrating a homily, generally considered to be spurious, *De patientia* II, in the 10th-century manuscript of John Chrysostom's *Homilies*, *Athen. graec.* 211, f. 84^v.¹⁴² Water flows from an overturned vase; above, a hart drinks from it, while below are two personages, one drinking directly from the stream and the other holding a cup. The text of the homily begins with a comparison between the thirsty traveller imagining a spring from afar and hastening towards it, and the preacher's audience eagerly approaching the true source, which is Christ. Quotations follow from John 7,37: 'If any man thirsts, let him come to me and drink', and from Psalm 41, alluding to the thirsty hart.

This miniature bears witness to the use of a flowing stream to symbolize wisdom. As such it is an obvious antecedent to the iconography of the Sources of Wisdom. However there is no explicit allusion to John Chrysostom's eloquence. Such allusions do occur in the literary sources. In his *Life*, George of Alexandria wrote that John Chrysostom had been sent by Christ to save souls and to drink from the springs of salvation.¹⁴³ Leo the Wise referred in his *Laudatio* to the eloquence of John Chrysostom cleansing the soul, like water, of its leprosy.¹⁴⁴ The way was therefore prepared for

140. PG 62, 14 line 27.

141. P. A. Underwood, 'The Fountain of Life in Manuscripts of the Gospel,' *DOP* 5 (1950), 41-138.

142. Grabar, 'Miniatures gréco-orientales,' 809, 825; PG 60, 729-736.

143. Halkin, *Douze recits* (note 89), 196.

144. PG 107, 237. Compare Ode 9, first Canon for January 27, the commemoration of John Chrysostom's Translation: 'Thou who hast drawn at the inexhaustible spring, thou pourest into the Church rivers of doctrine, at which we, who are thirsty, drink the waves', quoted by Orlandos, *Patmos*, 157.

John Mauropous, in attributing the elements to the Three Hierarchs, to allot water to John Chrysostom.

The earliest series of pictures of the Sources of Wisdom which is firmly dated is that in the church of the Archangel, Lesnovo, decorated in 1349 (fig. 25).¹⁴⁵ Here four hierarchs are represented; since the pictures are placed on the pendentives of a cupola, Athanasius has been introduced in order to make them symmetrical. In two examples, dated on stylistic grounds to the 13th century, the Loverdan icon and the fresco in the chapel of the Panagia, Patmos, John Chrysostom figures alone as Source of Wisdom.¹⁴⁶ Other examples from the 14th century are those which accompany the vision of John Mauropous in the Afendiko and those in the Serbian Psalter illustrating Psalm 48, 44: 'My mouth shall speak wisdom'.¹⁴⁷ The series at Poganovo, dating from about 1500, omits Basil.¹⁴⁸

The basic iconography is the same in all cases. The saintly bishops are seated, as in author portraits, before a lectern. Water flows from the roll extended on the lectern or from the lectern itself. Sometimes it is drawn from a well or fountain placed beside the lectern. A number of personages stand near the saintly bishop. Some of them drink from the stream or draw water. The wells at Lesnovo and Poganovo are shaped like a baptismal font. Saint Paul continues to inspire John Chrysostom.

Further development is also possible. On the Loverdan icon Saints Peter and John are represented above to the right and Moses to the left. George of Alexandria tells that the monk Hesychius had a vision of Saints Peter and John encouraging John Chrysostom in his mission.¹⁴⁹ The presence of Moses may be explained by references made by George of Alexandria to him as the example which John Chrysostom was to follow.¹⁵⁰ At Poganovo the scenes are accompanied by others from the cycle of the childhood of the Virgin: her Nativity with John Chrysostom, and her Presentation in the Temple

145. N. L. Okunev, 'Lesnovo,' *L'art byzantin chez les Slaves I* ii (Paris, 1930), 236, pl. 33; Millet, *Peinture en Yougoslavie IV*, figs. 38, 39; Velmans, 'L'iconographie' (note 138), 122-123, figs. 3, 4; Djurić, *Vizantijske Freske*, 64-66, 212 note 76.

146. Xyngopoulos, 'Source of Wisdom,' *passim*; Orlandos, *Patmos*, 155-158, pl. 38.

147. See above note 135; *Der serbische Psalter*, ed. H. Belting (Wiesbaden, 1978), 207, 285-286.

148. A. Grabar, *La peinture religieuse en Bulgarie* (Paris, 1928), 338, pls. 57, 59; Velmans, 'L'iconographie' (note 138), 127.

149. Halkin, *Douze recits* (note 89), 259-260.

150. *Ibid.*, 70, 109, 228, 284.

with Gregory of Nazianzus. This is no doubt because the Virgin was honoured as Source of Life.

It is evident that the iconographical type of the Source of Wisdom was created for John Chrysostom and then extended to the other hierarchs. He figures most often; in the Serbian Psalter he is allotted twice as much space as the other hierarchs. Moreover the water symbolism was also in its origins peculiar to him. Although he took part in no ecumenical council and attracted no popular devotion, he was honoured in the last centuries of the Byzantine epoch as the wisest and most eloquent saintly bishop and doctor of the Church.

CHAPTER FOUR

CHURCH RITES IN BYZANTINE ICONOGRAPHY

Ceremonial in the Byzantine court was focussed on the person of the emperor. It was intended above all to proclaim publicly the immutability of his authority and to define the relationships between the emperor and the hierarchy of his subjects.¹ Ceremonial was used in the same way in the Byzantine patriarchate, which also had its hierarchy of officials.² There was the same preoccupation with precedence and the right to wear certain vestments and insignia. Disputes arose between the *archontes*, responsible for the administration of the Church, who were deacons, and the bishops of the permanent synod. However, more important were the ceremonies attached to the Church's part in the divine providential plan. These ceremonies were of two kinds. Either, on the analogy of imperial ceremonial, they were intended to proclaim the immutability of Christ's authority, or they were intended to facilitate the passage of the individual Christian from earthly to eternal life.

There are few traces of the internal ceremonial of the Byzantine patriarchate in art. The ceremonies which reflect Christ's authority form the basis of the official imagery of the Byzantine Church. They will be discussed later in this book. The present concern is rather with the last kind of ceremony. A distinction may be made between those ceremonies or rites which, in Christian parlance, confer a 'character' and those which facilitate or celebrate the final passage of the human soul to eternity.³ In both cases interest is focussed upon the individual person or persons for whom the rite is performed.

1. O. Treitinger, *Die oströmische Kaiser- und Reichsidee*, 2nd ed. (Darmstadt, 1956).

2. Darrouzès, *Offikia*.

3. The term character is applied to the supernatural capacity or quality acquired by the human soul as the consequence of undergoing a sacramental rite. It is appropriate to baptism and ordination. By extension it may also be applied to coronation (conferring the capacity to rule) and to marriage (constituting a single entity in Christ).

Two of these rites—coronation and marriage—belong properly to imperial ceremonial. They only enter into the present study because these rites were Christianized, so that, in a few cases, pictures were made of a bishop officiating. Baptism, however, and ordination were specifically Christian rites. Baptism was, except in the case of the conversion of a ruler or a whole nation, a private ceremony, normally represented in a biographical context. Most pictures of ordination also occur in a biographical context, but since a bishop, notably the patriarch of Constantinople, was a public personage, a picture representing his appointment or investiture might be substituted for his consecration.

Rites which facilitated or celebrated the passage of the human soul to eternity could have a private or public character. Those which took place at death again usually occur in a biographical context. However the translation of the relics of an eminent saint was a public event. Both the ceremony and its iconography are imperial in origin.

The iconography of most of the rites discussed in this chapter has already been treated in specialized monographs. In general, artists were less concerned with the status of the officiant than with the gestures which he made. It will be shown that in most of these rites no special function was reserved to bishops. The origins and the significance of the essential gestures will be treated. However the principal aim will be to trace the developments in the iconography of each rite, so that it may be seen how it was modified or enriched by borrowing from the current practice of the Byzantine Church.

CEREMONIES CONFERRING A CHARACTER

1. Coronation

Ecclesiastical ceremonies of coronation are portrayed only in the Madrid Scylitzes. Each time the personage who performs the coronation is a bishop. There are eight examples: f. 80, Basil I is crowned co-emperor in the presence of Michael III; f. 114^v, Constantine VII is crowned co-emperor; f. 129, Anne, daughter of Gabalas, is crowned, a scene which precedes her marriage with Stephen, son of Romanus I, in the same miniature; f. 133^v, Romanus II is crowned co-emperor in the presence of Constantine VII; f. 139^v, Basil II is crowned co-emperor in the presence of Romanus II;

f. 145^v, Nicephorus Phocas, a usurper, is crowned emperor; f. 159, John Tzimiskes, a usurper, is crowned emperor; f. 218^v, Michael V is crowned emperor, after the death of Michael IV.⁴ In each of these miniatures, despite differences in the disposition of the personages present and in the style of the various painters, the essential gesture is the same: a personage in episcopal dress, who is often identified in the narrative as the reigning patriarch, imposes a crown on the recipient's inclined head.

In the same manuscript there are other representations of a coronation. On f. 11^v, Michael I crowns Leo V co-emperor, both standing on a raised shield.⁵ On f. 80^v, Basilicinus, nominated co-emperor by Michael III, stands in the centre of the scene, wearing imperial dress; the emperor is enthroned to the right, while, to the left, the patriarch makes a gesture of blessing (fig. 26).⁶ In two cases, that of Romanus III, f. 198^v, and that of Constantine IX, f. 222, both usurpers, a marriage scene has been substituted, although in the second, identified by the accompanying legend as a marriage, a crown is placed only on the emperor's head.⁷ The empress Zoe, who stands by, is already crowned.

Although the iconography of these miniatures is simple and straightforward, there lies behind it a long and complex tradition. In Antiquity, a distinction was made between the crown, a reward for victory, and the diadem, part of the insignia of sovereignty.⁸ There are no Roman or Greek pictures of investiture with a diadem. In Roman tradition this is not surprising, since the Romans were allergic to kings. On the other hand the coronation of a victorious emperor by a personification figures frequently on coins or triumphal monuments.⁹ At first the crown, made of leaves, was clearly distinct in portraits of emperors from the bejewelled circlet which served as a diadem.¹⁰ However, from the 4th century the two were combined.¹¹ The crown-diadem persisted into the Christian epoch,

4. Grabar & Manoussacas, *Skylitzès*, nos. 196, 266, 314, 328, 348, 369, 412, 532.

5. Ch. Walter, 'The Coronation of a Co-emperor in the Skylitzes matritensis,' *Actes du 14^e Congrès International des Etudes Byzantines II* (Bucarest, 1975), 453-458, reprinted *Studies*; idem, 'Raising on a Shield in Byzantine Iconography,' *REB* 33 (1975), 138-139, reprinted *Studies*.

6. Grabar & Manoussacas, *Skylitzès*, no. 197.

7. *Ibid.*, nos. 484, 542.

8. Walter, 'Coronation of Milutin and Simonida,' *passim*.

9. *Ibid.*, fig. 2.

10. *Ibid.*, fig. 1 a, b.

11. *Ibid.*, fig. 1 c.

aptly signifying the Messianic kingship of Jewish tradition, which combined the notions of sovereignty and providential victory.

In Byzantine art crowns may variously signify victory, sovereignty or both together. However, apart from in the Madrid Scylitzes, there are no pictures of an emperor or a member of the imperial family being crowned by a living personage. The crown is invariably imposed either by Christ, an angel, the Virgin or a saint. These pictures are to be found as frontispieces to illuminated manuscripts or as official pictures commemorating the decoration of a church. The sense is clear: the person who is crowned has received sovereignty (*basileia*), sometimes confirmed by victory, from the heavenly powers. The pictures are ideological rather than historical.¹²

In Old Testament illustration there are also ideological pictures in which David and Hezekiah are crowned, either by an angel or a personification of *basileia*.¹³ Here the crown signifies the Messianic kingship. However, in others, a human personage, a king or a prophet, performs the coronation. They are therefore historical. As early as the 9th century in the *Sacra Parallela*, f. 12, Joseph, appointed overseer of Egypt, is assimilated to a co-emperor and crowned by Pharaoh. In *Vatican. graec.* 752, f. 449, Saul is represented crowning David as co-emperor. A similar scene occurs in the 13th-century manuscript of Barlaam and Joasaph, Athos Iviron 463, f. 122^v.¹⁴

These are the closest parallels to the coronation scenes in the Madrid Scylitzes and the only other evidence for supposing that the practice existed in Byzantine tradition of representing historical coronations.

When succession to the imperial throne proceeded regularly, a future emperor was crowned during the lifetime of his predecessor. Only usurpers were crowned at the beginning of their reign.¹⁵ When there was no living emperor, the patriarch performed the coronation. Thus, in the miniatures in the Madrid Scylitzes listed above, the patriarch is correctly represented crowning Nicephorus Phocas, f. 145^v, and John Tzimiscus, f. 159. The same is true for Michael V,

12. *Ibid.*, 190–200.

13. Walter, 'Raising on a Shield' (note 5), 145–147, 153, 168–169.

14. Weitzmann, *Sacra Parallela*, 50–52, 78, fig. 46; Walter, 'Raising on a Shield,' 169, with bibliography and other examples.

15. Walter, 'Raising on a Shield,' 162.

f. 218^v, for Michael IV was already dead. However all the other personages whose coronation is represented received the *basileia* during the lifetime of their predecessor. According to the *Ritual* published by Goar, the emperor himself crowned his son, daughter or wife.¹⁶ According to the *De ceremoniis*, when a Caesar was crowned the emperor imposed the diadem and the imperial vestments after they had been blessed by the patriarch.¹⁷ Only in the 14th-century *De officiis* is an active part attributed to the patriarch in all coronations.¹⁸ He imposed the crown together with the emperor, if there was one, or alone if there was not.

Nevertheless, in all the miniatures in the Madrid Scylitzes listed above the patriarch conducts the coronation, even when the text illustrated says specifically that it was the emperor. For example, according to the chronicle, Michael III crowned Basil I.¹⁹ Yet, in the miniature, f. 80, the emperor stands to one side, while a group of personages, on the other side, make gestures of acclamation. In the centre stands a haloed bishop imposing a crown on Basil's head.

It can be shown that, in illustrating other passages of the text, the artists copied available iconographical types without concern for their exact correspondence to what was recounted. Equally, they did not invariably illustrate the same kind of event by the same kind of picture. For example, for the coronation of Basilicinus f. 80^v, there is a picture of the patriarch blessing a personage who is already crowned and imperially vested (fig. 26). On another occasion, f. 11^v, Michael I crowns Leo V, both standing on a raised shield. It is the only surviving example of the use of this iconographical type for the coronation of a personage outside the Old Testament. Moreover the text of the chronicle provides no clue why, on these two occasions, the artist preferred a different iconographical type.

The general preference for the formula in which a bishop performs the ceremony suggests that, already by the 11th century when the original manuscript of the Scylitzes chronicle was illustrated, it had become the practice for the patriarch to play an active part in all coronations. However, since the pictures do not attribute an active part to the emperor, it may be that the original type was created to illustrate the coronation of a usurper, for, as has been seen, in such cases the patriarch invariably performed the ceremony.

16. J. Goar, *Euchologion* (Paris, 1647), 925.

17. *De ceremoniis*, ed. Vogt, II, 27–28.

18. *De officiis*, ed. Verpeaux, 274–276.

19. *Ioannis Scylitzae Synopsis Historiarum*, ed. J. Thurn (Berlin/New York, 1973), 113.

2. Marriage

Ecclesiastical marriage ceremonies are again portrayed, with one possible exception, solely in the Madrid Scylitzes. There are nine examples: f. 53^v, Theophobus and the sister of the emperor Theophilus (fig. 27); f. 87^v, Basil I and Eudocia Ingerina; f. 125, Constantine VII and Helen; f. 129, Stephen Lecapenus and Anne; f. 130^v, Romanus II and Eudocia; f. 185, Asotius and the daughter of Samuel the Bulgarian; f. 198^v, Romanus III and Zoe; f. 206^v, Michael IV and Zoe; f. 222, Constantine IX Monomachus and Zoe.²⁰ In four of these miniatures, ff. 53^v, 125, 185^v, 198^v, the essential gesture is the imposition of a crown on the head of each spouse by the officiating bishop. In one miniature, f. 222, the bishop imposes a crown only on the head of Constantine IX. In the other four miniatures, ff. 87^v, 129, 130^v, 206^v, a gesture of blessing replaces the imposition of a crown. In one only, f. 206^v, the couple also join hands, the so-called *dextrarum junctio*. This last miniature, the marriage of Michael IV and Zoe, is also the richest in ritual detail: one cleric holds a censer, while other personages hold lamps. The spouses wear a common marriage veil, as, apparently, do Asotius and the daughter of Samuel the Bulgarian, f. 185, although here the execution is rudimentary.²¹ The accompanying legends are significant. The two miniatures in the first part of the manuscript, in which Byzantine influence is stronger, ff. 53^v, 87^v, are called coronations (*stefetai, stefanoutai*). Later the word marriage (*gamos*) is preferred, except for the first two marriages of Zoe; in their case the legend refers to the beginning of the reign (*arche basileias*).

The iconography of marriage, like that of coronation, derives from antique art. The *dextrarum junctio* first appears as a marriage symbol on coins minted for Antoninus and Fausta in 141, and Marcus Aurelius and Faustina II after 145.²² However, it had been used earlier, in periods of civil war, for example on a coin issue under Augustus in 8 BC where clasped hands, holding a *caduceus*, are accompanied by the legend: *Pax et libertas*.²³ Subsequent issues

20. Grabar & Manoussacas, *Skylitzès*, nos. 127, 215, 298, 314, 318, 474, 484, 504, 541.

21. For lamps and veils in marriage ritual, Ch. Walter, 'Marriage Crowns in Byzantine Iconography,' *Zograf* 10 (1979), 88 note 51.

22. Ch. Walter, 'The *Dextrarum Junctio* of Lepcis Magna in Relationship to the Iconography of Marriage,' *Antiquités Africaines* 14 (1979), 275, fig. 4.

23. *Ibid.*, 273.

make it clear that the clasped hands were a symbol of concord, which was later applied to marriage.²⁴ In the second century Roman couples were required, on the occasion of their marriage, to offer sacrifice before the statues of the emperor and empress, *ob insignem eorum concordiam*.²⁵ The use of the *dextrarum junctio* was extended to portraits of married couples on sarcophagi.²⁶ However, there is no clear evidence that the action of clasping hands was an actual part of Roman marriage ceremonial.²⁷

Crowns or garlands worn by the spouses do not appear in pictures of marriage earlier than the Christian epoch. There is, however, evidence that they were used in marriage celebrations, as in other festivities.²⁸ In ancient Greece, the house of the bride's father was covered with garlands and wreaths of myrtle. At the wedding, more a family occasion than a civic ceremony, the bride and bridegroom wore crowns which they exchanged. The crown also figured in mythological weddings. Dionysius took Ariadne's crown and placed it in the sky where it became a constellation.

Both themes, the *dextrarum junctio* and coronation, were taken up in Christian marriage iconography. The first Christian marriage coin issue with the *dextrarum junctio*, over two centuries after the last pagan issue, was for Valentinian III and Eudocia in 437.²⁹ This remains close to the pagan models, with Theodosius II as *pronubus*. In the issue for Anastasius I and Ariadne in 491, Christ has been substituted as *pronubus*.³⁰ The theme does not recur in later coin issues, but was represented on medallions incorporated into marriage belts.³¹ The *dextrarum junctio* was also used in the scenes of Old Testament marriages in Santa Maria Maggiore, and, for the marriage of David and Michal, on one of the David plates dating from the reign of Heraclius.³² The only other examples of the *dextrarum junctio* in Byzantine art, apart from the miniature in the Madrid Scylitzes, f. 206^v, noted above, are in the illuminated Octateuchs.³³

24. Walter, 'Dextrarum junctio,' 273-275.

25. *Ibid.*, 275.

26. *Ibid.*, 275-276.

27. *Ibid.*, 276-277.

28. Walter, 'Marriage crowns' (note 21), 89.

29. Walter, 'Dextrarum junctio,' 277-278.

30. *Ibid.*, 278.

31. *Ibid.*, 280.

32. *Ibid.*, 278, 280.

33. *Ibid.*, 281, fig. 10.

Coronation as a marriage theme appears first in Christian art on gilded glasses, with Christ holding a crown above the head of each spouse.³⁴ This iconographical type was developed by the Byzantines. The outstanding example is the ivory of Romanus IV and Eudocia (1068–1071), for whom a unique marriage coin issue also exists, again with Christ crowning the spouses.³⁵ This was quickly followed by the representation of Christ crowning Michael VII and Maria (1071–1078), on an enamel in Tbilisi, with which may be associated the frontispiece to *Paris. Coislin*. 79, f. 1^v (2bis^v).³⁶ That it had been used earlier for imperial couples may be inferred from the Western ivory of Otto II and Theophano (982/3), obviously based on a Byzantine model; there are also medallions of the couple being crowned by Christ.³⁷ It appears later in the 14th-century fresco at Gračanica, in which Milutin and his Byzantine spouse Simonida are crowned by angels with Christ blessing above.³⁸ In the late Byzantine manuscript of Barlaam and Joasaph, *Paris. graec.* 1128, f. 86, a personage wearing a scarf, which is not clearly a clerical vestment, stands before a baldacchino, imposing crowns on a rich man and a poor maiden.³⁹

Although the total number of marriage scenes is small, there is a clear preference in Byzantine tradition for the imposition of crowns rather than the *dextrarum junctio*. Both actions occurred in the Byzantine marriage rite, as well as the blessing.⁴⁰ The first detailed account of a Byzantine wedding is the description by Theophylact Simocatta of the marriage of the emperor Maurice (583–602).⁴¹ The patriarch joined the hands of the emperor and empress, pronounced the nuptial blessing and then imposed crowns on their heads. The imposition of crowns became, however, the constitutive act of the marriage rite in the Byzantine Church, although the *dextrarum junctio* was retained; Symeon of Thessaloniki explains it as the union of the spouses in Christ, in whom they become a single entity.⁴²

34. Walter, 'Marriage crowns' (note 21), 84, fig. 3.

35. Ioli Kalavrezou-Maxeiner, 'Eudokia Makrembolitissa and the Romanos ivory,' *DOP* 31 (1977), 386–408; Walter, 'Marriage Crowns,' 85, figs. 2, 7.

36. Spatharakis, *Portrait*, 107–118, fig. 70. Walter, *art. cit.*, 85.

37. Walter, *art. cit.*, 85.

38. *Ibid.*, 83–84, 91.

39. *Ibid.*, 86, fig. 11.

40. *Ibid.*, 89–90.

41. *Ibid.*, 90; *idem*, 'Dextrarum junctio' (note 22), 277.

42. Symeon of Thessaloniki, *De honesto et legitimo conjugio*, PG 155, 509.

The iconographical type of Christ, represented frontally, crowning two spouses resembles that of Christ crowning the emperor alone. Both publicly affirm the prince's title to rule. When his spouse is represented with him, his title depends in part from the marriage. The case in favour of this interpretation has been argued in detail for the ivory of Romanus IV, a usurper, and Eudocia.⁴³ It may be extended to the picture of the Serbian king Milutin and his imperial spouse Simonida at Gračanica.⁴⁴ Although such pictures refer to a historical event—the marriage, their purpose is nevertheless ideological.

The iconographical type was sometimes used in a more obviously historical context, and adapted by the substitution of a living personage for Christ. In *Vatican. graec.* 752, f. 449, Saul imposes crowns on David and his daughter Michal.⁴⁵ In the Madrid Scylitzes, f. 53^v, a haloed bishop, standing on a footstool, imposes crowns on Theophobus and his spouse, the emperor's sister (fig. 27). However, in both cases, there are dynastic implications. David was a shepherd boy who aspired to marry a king's daughter. Theophobus, unlike his spouse, was not of imperial rank.

The alternative form, in which the figures are presented in profile, might seem to have been created for narrative illustration. When it is used, a living personage, not Christ, imposes the crowns. Nevertheless, in each case there are dynastic implications: the ennoblement of one of the spouses or the conferment of a title to rule. In the Paris Barlaam and Joasaph, it is the poor maiden who benefits from marrying a rich man. In the Madrid Scylitzes, the usurper acquires a title to rule. This interpretation is particularly clear in the latter manuscript for the three marriages of Zoe, ff. 198^v, 206^v, 222. In the first two miniatures, the accompanying legend refers directly to the beginning of the new reign. In the third, although the legend refers to marriage, the bishop imposes a crown only on Constantine IX, as if the ceremony had been assimilated to a coronation.

The marriage crown early acquired a Christian significance. Like other crowns it was a symbol of victory: the spouses had triumphed over the flesh and remained virgin till their marriage.⁴⁶ However

43. Kalavrezou-Maxeiner, 'Eudokia Makrembolitissa' (note 35), 394–397.

44. Walter, 'Marriage crowns' (note 21), 91.

45. *Ibid.*, 91, fig. 9.

46. *Ibid.*, 89–90.

there is no evidence that marriage crowns were used in iconography with this meaning. Marriage remained a theme of imperial iconography, even if on some rare occasions additional elements from the Christian marriage rite were introduced into the pictures.

3. Baptism

The earliest dated pictures in which the administration of baptism has a distinctly ecclesiastical form are those in 9th-century Paris Gregory.⁴⁷ They illustrate the funeral homilies for Gregory the Elder and Cyprian of Antioch, ff. 87^v, 332^v. In both pictures the iconography is basically the same. Each neophyte stands in a sunken font, while a bishop imposes his right hand on his head. In each case the biographical context is the same: baptism marks their conversion to Christianity. It is known, however, that a baptismal scene existed much earlier in the cycle for Constantine in the church of Saint Polyeuctus, Constantinople.⁴⁸ It would be tempting to suppose that iconographical association of baptism with conversion dates back to Constantine, although, in fact, Byzantine artists were more interested in his vision of the Cross.

Most baptismal scenes do, in fact, mark a conversion. There are several examples in illustrated Metaphrastic Lives. A bishop, called *hierous* in the text, baptizes Eustathius in *Londin*. Additional 11870, f. 151.⁴⁹ The same saint, as well as Hermogenes, are baptized in miniatures illustrating their *Lives* in Athos Esphigmenou 14, ff. 52, 294^v, but only for Eustathius does a bishop officiate.⁵⁰ When a saint made a spectacular conversion, it could be represented in his biographical cycle, as for Basil of Caesarea and a Jewish household in Balkan Dere 3, and for the *hieromonachos* Euthymius in the parecclesion at Saint Demetrius, Thessaloniki.⁵¹

Apart from strictly biographical contexts, bishops baptize converts in the Madrid Scylitzes: f. 68^v, Boris the Bulgarian, although

47. Omont, *Miniatures*, 18–19, 26–27, pls. 30, 47; Ch. Walter, 'Baptism in Byzantine Iconography,' *Sobornost* 2/2 (1980), 17.

48. See above, 104 note 96.

49. Walter, 'Baptism,' 17, fig. 3.

50. *Treasures* II, figs. 239, 355.

51. Thalia Gouma-Peterson, 'The Parecclesion of St. Euthymius in Thessalonika: Art and Monastic Policy under Andronicos II,' *Art Bull* 58 (1976), 175, fig. 12. Euthymius miraculously cures a Saracen child Terevon and then baptizes the father Aspebetos.

the text attributes his conversion to the monk Methodius; f. 134^v, a Turk (Hungarian).⁵² In the Vatican Manasses, ff. 163^v, 166^v, a bishop baptizes the converted Bulgars and Russians.⁵³ In the story of Barlaam and Joasaph three conversions are recounted, which are illustrated in manuscripts with pictures of baptism (see fig. 28). Although the text indicates the status of the person who administered the sacrament, the artists did not go to great pains to make this clear in their miniatures. Even if there is a preponderance in favour of representing the officiant as a bishop, there is not absolute uniformity.⁵⁴

When a member of the clergy is represented baptizing in a non-biographical context, the theme illustrated may still be conversion. For example the miniature of Sylvester baptizing in *Vatican. graec.* 752, f. 193, illustrates a reference in the accompanying commentary to sinners seeking conversion and baptism.⁵⁵ Twice, however, in manuscripts of Gregory's *Homilies*, the context is slightly different. In *Ambrosian.* 416, f. 176^v, a unique picture of a multiple baptism in a font illustrates Gregory's homily on Baptism.⁵⁶ In *Paris. graec.* 550, f. 34^v, a picture of baptism illustrates a particular phrase in the homily: 'Thus is man renewed'.⁵⁷

An iconographical type for baptism had been elaborated long before it was used to represent a strictly ecclesiastical rite. The essential gestures were established in early Christian art, in order to represent the baptism of Christ by John the Baptist.⁵⁸ Unlike marriage and coronation it is a specifically Christian theme, although, in accordance with their usual practice, artists adapted gestures portrayed in antique art to their purpose. Two primitive formulae existed: either John the Baptist drew Christ by the hand out of the river Jordan or he imposed his right hand on Christ's head.⁵⁹ The second formula was retained, and continued to be used in Byzantine art. The imposition of a hand was widely used in Early

52. Grabar & Manoussacas, *Skylitzès*, nos. 171, 341.

53. I. Dujčev, *Minijature Manasijevoj Letopisa* (Sofia/Belgrade, 1965), nos. 57, 58.

54. See above, 46.

55. See above, 60 note 161.

56. Galavaris, *Gregory Nazianzenus*, 52-53, fig. 311.

57. *Ibid.*, fig. 408.

58. Walter, 'Baptism' (note 47), 9-12.

59. *Ibid.*, 10, figs 1-2 (legends displaced: 1b—John the Baptist draws Christ out of the water; 2a—a political stele to Athene; 2b—John the Baptist baptizing Christ); R. Brilliant, *Gesture and Rank in Roman Art* (New Haven, 1963), 17-18, 20, figs. 1, 14 and 18.

Christian art for scenes concerned with blessing, healing and the conferment of supernatural graces. It has been defined thus:⁶⁰

The imposition of a hand signifies that a blessing has been given, that a virtue has been transmitted, or that some quality which he did not previously possess has been conferred upon the person upon whom a hand is imposed.

In order to define the scene as one of baptism, it was considered sufficient to represent the personage being baptized standing in a river, possibly with a dove hovering above his head. The choice of imposition of hands was not motivated by a reading of the New Testament, which gives little information as to how baptism was administered, whether by John the Baptist or by the apostles. For a historical representation of Christ's baptism the formula of John the Baptist taking him by the hand would seem preferable. According to Mark 1,10, Christ 'came up out of the water', an overt allusion to Pharaoh's daughter drawing Moses in his cradle out of the Nile. (Isaiah 63,11-12). If the imposition of a hand was preferred, it was because artists were required to stress the fact that the Holy Spirit descended upon Christ at the moment of baptism. They consequently used the current formula for the conferment of supernatural graces. When the baptism of other personages had to be represented, the same formula was copied, in spite of the fact that the primitive baptismal ritual, rich as it was in significative gestures, did not include the imposition of hands.⁶¹ In Byzantine pictures of the baptism of personages other than Christ the dove is omitted.

John the Baptist is also represented baptizing converts, as are the apostles and even Christ himself. The first dated examples of such pictures again occur in 9th-century manuscripts. However, since they are used as a commentary on the texts which they illustrate, the likelihood is that these scenes existed earlier. There is consequently no difficulty, as far as iconography is concerned, in assigning the ivory of Mark baptizing Anianus to the 8th century.⁶² Sometimes the baptismal scene is a general one, exemplifying the Mission of the Apostles. In the Paris Gregory, f. 426^v, the frontispiece to Homily

60. L. de Bruyne, 'L'imposition des mains dans l'art chrétien romain,' *Rivista dell' Archeologia Cristiana* 20 (1943), 216. See also J. Coppens, *L'imposition des mains et les rites connexes dans le Nouveau Testament et dans l'Eglise ancienne* (Wetteren/Paris, 1925).

61. J. A. Jungmann, *La liturgie des premiers siècles* (Paris, 1962), 116-136; G. Kretschmar, 'Recent Research on Christian Initiation,' *Studia Liturgica* 12 (1977), 87-106.

62. See above, 83.

37, a diatribe on the iniquities of divorce, consists of twelve small scenes, in each of which an apostle is baptizing.⁶³ The frontispiece is accompanied by a legend, taken from Matthew 28,15: 'Go forth and make all men my disciples, baptize men everywhere.' In the Chludov Psalter, f. 65, and the Pantocrator Psalter, f. 85^v, an allusion in Psalm 67, 31, to Ethiopia provides the occasion to represent Philip the Deacon baptizing the Ethiopian eunuch.⁶⁴ The subject was a popular one, and remained in the repertory of Byzantine artists. The suggestion has been made that the conversion scenes painted in the 9th century were inspired by the new confidence acquired by the Byzantine Church in its providential mission to extend the reign of Christ on earth under Basil I (867–886) and Photius. This was, indeed, the period when the Slavs were converted to Christianity.

Other scenes of apostles baptizing appear later, for example those of Peter baptizing Cornelius and his family and of Thomas baptizing the Indians. The baptism of Paul by Ananias was also a popular theme. It was used in one Psalter, Athos Vatopediou 760, f. 59, to illustrate Psalm 31, 1: 'Blessed are the men whose transgressions are forgiven'. There is a slight change in the significance attributed to baptism, as, again, when Christ is represented in the Hamilton Psalter baptizing in a font, in illustration to Psalm 57, 4: 'Sinners have gone astray from their womb'.⁶⁵

Some variants in the setting, reflecting church ritual, may be noted. Baptism takes place in a river only in apostolic scenes, and by no means always in these. There is a single exception: the 14th-century miniature of the baptism of the Russians, in the Vatican Manasses, f. 166^v, is set in a river. It has been suggested that this is because the first Russians were baptized in the Dnieper.⁶⁶ To the sunken fonts of *Paris. graec.* 510, which occasionally recur in later pictures, succeed raised fonts; both resemble those which were actually used.⁶⁷ The neophyte may hold his hands crossed upon the chest, or extend them in a prayer gesture. Sponsors may stand by, holding a cloth in which to enwrap the neophyte,⁶⁸ a task which is sometimes attributed to angels in scenes of Christ's baptism.

63. Der Nersessian, 'Gregory of Nazianzus,' 206–207, fig. 17.

64. Ščepkina, *Chludov Psalter*, at folio number; Dufrenne, *Psautiers grecs*, 27, pl. 11.

65. Walter, 'Baptism' (note 47), 22.

66. *Ibid.*, 20–21.

67. *Ibid.*, 16.

68. Grabar & Manoussacas, *Skylitzès*, nos. 171, 259, 331.

Occasionally acolytes hold tapers or a censer.⁶⁹ In the scene of the baptism of the Bulgars, in the Vatican Manasses, f. 163^v, an attendant pours water into the font, an action probably borrowed from the iconography of the First Bath.⁷⁰ In this same miniature the bishop makes a gesture of blessing, instead of the normal one of imposing his hand. Often he holds a book in the left hand, as, indeed, does the apostle Mark in the scene of the baptism of Anianus on the Grado ivory.

The scene of baptism could be preceded by one in which the convert asks to be received into the Church. This act is often recounted, and was already illustrated in *Paris. graec.* 510, f. 87^v, for Gregory the Elder.⁷¹ Nachor, the sorcerer, also asks for baptism in Athos Iviron 463, f. 87, and *Paris. graec.* 1128, f. 144^v (fig. 28).⁷² This formula was also used for women converts, in whose case it may have been substituted for a conventional scene of baptism, in order to avoid the necessity of representing them naked. A picture of the converted Pelagia in the Menologium of Basil II, p. 98, shows her standing richly dressed before the seated bishop of Antioch. He extends his hand in a gesture of conversation. The same scene recurs at Dečani, in which Nonnus is represented rather more majestically (fig. 29).⁷³ He holds an episcopal staff in his right hand, while an acolyte stands by with a taper. There are points in common with the miniature of the Russian princess Olga in the Madrid Scylitzes, f. 135.⁷⁴ However, she is asking the emperor that she should be received into the Church.

Thus the Byzantine iconography of baptism was not without its curious points. The iconographical type, created for the Baptism of Christ, used the gesture of the imposition of a hand, not because it was essential to the rite but because it signified the conferment of the Holy Spirit. The same gesture was retained when baptism was represented as a church rite, with the occasional substitution of one of blessing. Baptism was used by artists almost exclusively to illustrate conversions and the evangelical activity of the Apostles. For them it signified conversion, sometimes with the connotation of repentance, forgiveness of sins or the illumination of the soul. The

69. *Ibid.*, no. 171; Galavaris, *Gregory Nazianzenus*, fig. 311.

70. Dujčev, *Minijature* (note 53), no. 57; see above, 85 notes 12, 13.

71. See above, 125 note 47.

72. See above, 46 note 54.

73. Mijović, *Menolog*, 322, fig. 184; Walter, 'Baptism' (note 47), 18–19, fig. 5.

74. Grabar & Manoussacas, *Skylitzès*, no. 333.

persistence of this association of baptism with conversion is the more remarkable, because, at the time when these pictures were made, infant baptism was the regular practice in the Byzantine Church.⁷⁵ Yet only one picture is known of an infant baptism, that of Leo VI's son in the Madrid Skylitzes, f. 112 (fig. 31).⁷⁶ Its iconography differs from that of other baptismal scenes. The bishop holds the baby above the font, as if about to present him to his godparents. They stand by, holding a cloth in which to enwrap him.

The Apostles' mission to teach and baptize all nations was inherited by the bishops. In the early Christian Church, it was they who baptized. However, with the passage of time, administration of baptism ceased to be reserved to them. Maybe this is why artists, in representing baptism as a church rite, did not invariably portray the ministrant as a bishop.

4. Church appointments

Under the present heading are included pictures representing the conferment of ecclesiastical orders—the diaconate, priesthood and episcopacy, as well as those representing investiture and resignation. Of these by far the greatest number portray the consecration of a bishop.⁷⁷

Many pictures of this subject appear in a biographical context. Consecration is, in fact, as was shown in Chapter III, the only scene which can be considered typical in biographical cycles for bishops.⁷⁸ The earliest examples are the pictures of the consecration of Gregory of Nazianzus in the 9th-century manuscripts of his *Homilies*, *Paris: graec.* 510, ff. 67^v, 452 (fig. 34), and of Basil in *Ambrosian. graec.* E 49–50 inf., p. 128.⁷⁹ The scene does not recur in the liturgical edition of the homilies, although it figures in the Georgian collection, Tbilisi A 109, f. 228, probably for the consecration of Gregory, as well as in

75. P. Trempelas, *Mikron Euchologion* (in Greek), I (Athens, 1961), 257–403; P. De Meester, *Studi sui sacramenti amministrati secondo il rito bizantino* (Rome, 1947), 19–30; Ph. Koukoules, *Vie et civilisation byzantines IV* (Athens, 1951), 43–69.

76. Grabar & Manoussacas, *Skylitzès*, no. 259. Basil blesses two infants, and John Chrysostom apparently anoints a third in two unique miniatures in the liturgical roll *Athen.* 2759, see above, 67 note 205.

77. Walter, 'Church Appointments,' 108–125.

78. See above, 108.

79. Omont, *Miniatures*, 16, 31, pls. 25, 60; Grabar, *Grégoire de Nazianze*.

the *Commentary* on the homilies by Elias of Crete, *Basileen*. A N I 8, ff. O^v (fig. 35), P, for Gregory and for Eulalius.⁸⁰ The conferment of orders is ordinarily represented also in biographical cycles on icons and in wall painting for Nicolas of Myra (fig. 33).⁸¹ In earlier examples the conferment of the diaconate or the priesthood accompanies that of the episcopacy; in later ones all three scenes may be represented. Conferment of the episcopacy is also represented in the biographical cycle for Arsenije of Serbia in the Bogorodica, Peć, and on an icon of Basil.⁸²

Since the appointment of a patriarch was a major political as well as ecclesiastical event, it was recorded in chronicles. There is a miniature marking the beginning of the pontificate of Theophilus in the Alexandrian World Chronicle, in which the patriarch is represented enthroned (fig. 36).⁸³ A similar picture marks the beginning of the reign of Michael I and of the patriarchate of Nicephorus in the Madrid Scylitzes, f. 10.⁸⁴ Apart from that, the Scylitzes contains scenes referring to a patriarch's election on seven occasions: f. 76, messengers inform Ignatius of his appointment, although the legend refers to his consecration; f. 159^v, Basil I Scamandrenus is installed, although, again, the legend refers to his consecration; four patriarchs, f. 173, Antony III, f. 179, Nicholas II Chrysoberges, f. 184, Sissinius and Sergius II, are represented in conversation with the emperor who has appointed them; f. 196^v, a court official presents Alexius the Studite with his *rhabdos*.⁸⁵ For the eight other patriarchs mentioned in the text, a ceremony of consecration rather than election was preferred: f. 21, Theodotus Melissenus, f. 57, John Grammaticus, f. 64, Methodius, f. 194, Photius, f. 112^v, Euthymius, f. 127^v, Tryphon, f. 129, Theophylact, f. 137^v, Polyeuctus.⁸⁶ Except in the case of Theodotus Melissenus, the legend accompanying the miniature explicitly mentions their consecration.

Apart from the biographical cycle of Nicolas of Myra ordinations to the priesthood or diaconate are rare. There is the case of the frontispiece to the *De sacerdotio* of John Chrysostom, *Paris. graec.*

80. Walter, 'Church Appointments,' 113, pl. 5; *idem*, 'Commentaire enluminé,' 126, figs. 14–15.

81. Patterson-Ševčenko, *Saint Nicholas*.

82. Djurić, 'Istorijske kompozicije,' *ZRVI* 11 (1968), 99–103; Walter, 'Three Hierarchs,' 248–249, pl. 4.

83. Bauer & Strzygowski, *Alexandrische Weltchronik*, 121–122, pl. VI.

84. Grabar & Manoussacas, *Skylitzès*, no. 1.

85. *Ibid.*, nos. 186, 413, 446, 470, 471, 480.

86. *Ibid.*, nos. 35, 137, 158, 188, 260, 307, 313, 342.

799, f. 1, in which one of the narrative scenes is probably an ordination to the priesthood.⁸⁷ Another example occurs in the biographical cycle of Euthymius in the chapel dedicated to him in Saint Demetrius, Thessaloniki, in which a bishop ordains him a priest.⁸⁸ Finally, in quite a different context, scenes of a simoniac ordination illustrate Psalm 68, 28: 'Add thou iniquity upon their iniquity and let them not come into thy justice', in three marginal Psalters, the Chludov Psalter, f. 67^v, the Barberini Psalter, f. 115^v, and the Theodore Psalter, f. 88.⁸⁹ In these miniatures, since the ordinand is dressed in lay clothes with a hat, it is not possible to know which order is being conferred.

There are a few examples of apostles conferring orders. The only one which is strictly Byzantine is the picture of Saint Peter ordaining the seven deacons in the new church of Tokalı kilise, dating from the 10th century (fig. 32).⁹⁰ This is part of a New Testament cycle. Earlier, probably, in date is the ivory of Saint Mark consecrating Anianus, forming part of the latter's biographical cycle, from the Grado chair.⁹¹ These scenes, concerned with the apostolic origins of the see of Alexandria, favour the suggestion of an Alexandrian provenance for the ivories. An analogous scene, of Saint Peter consecrating Hermagoras, dating from the 12th century, is painted in the crypt of the basilica of Aquileia.⁹² Although Saint Mark did not found the see of Venice, his consecration by Saint Peter, represented on the Pala d'Oro, obviously redounded to the glory of the city which housed his relics.⁹³

In Byzantine art, with the possible exception of the curious scene in the apse of Saint Nicolas, Melnik,⁹⁴ there are no representations

87. Walter, 'Three Hierarchs,' 250–251, fig. 5.

88. Gouma-Peterson, 'Parecclesion of St Euthymius' (note 51), 175, fig. 11.

89. Ščepkina, *Chludov Psalter* at folio number; Der Nersessian, *Theodore Psalter*, 37, 65, fig. 143; Walter, 'Church Appointments,' 117.

90. De Jerphanion, *Eglises rupestres* 12, 355–356, pl. 82 i; Walter 'Church Appointments,' 110, pl. 1. In *Paris. graec.* 923, f. 163^v, the seven deacons are represented before busts of Saints Peter and Paul, Weitzmann, *Sacra Parallela*, 90, fig. 488.

91. See above, 83 note 300.

92. G. Brusin, *Aquileia e Grado* (Padua, 1964), 50–54.

93. *Tesoro di San Marco*, I, *La Pala d'Oro*, no. 41; Walter, 'Church Appointments,' 112, fig. 2 b.

94. The picture is at the level where the Communion of the Apostles was usually placed. To left and right stand bishops, most of them identifiable from the accompanying legends: Gregory of Nazianzus, Basil, John Chrysostom, Athanasius, Gregory of Nyssa, Antipas of Pergamon, Anthimus of Nicomedia. Christ, wearing a tunic and mantle and holding a scroll in his left hand, stands in the centre. Before him is a bishop, not identifiable from a legend, who

of Christ conferring orders. However, in post-Byzantine art, Christ was represented, dressed as a bishop, consecrating James bishop of Jerusalem.⁹⁵

The most important element in the iconography of conferment of orders is the gesture made by the consecrating bishop or apostle. In the two miniatures in the Paris Gregory, the bishop, with the help of another, holds an open book over the head of the ordinand (fig. 34). In the Ambrosian Gregory, p. 128, the consecrating bishop makes a gesture of speaking or blessing. In the 9th-century marginal Psalters, he imposes one hand on the head of the ordinand. For the ordination of deacons at Tokali, Saint Peter imposes both hands, as does Saint Mark on the Grado ivory. In the Madrid Scylitzes there is some variety. For Methodius, f. 64, the consecrating bishop makes a gesture of blessing. For Theodotus Melissenus, f. 21, he reads from a roll. More frequently, for Euthymius, f. 127^v, Tryphon, f. 129, and Polyeuctus, f. 137^v, he imposes one hand. For Photius, f. 112^v, he imposes his left hand and makes a blessing gesture with his right. In the Tbilisi manuscript of Gregory's *Homilies* and in *Basileen*. ANI8, the consecrating bishop holds a roll in the left hand and blesses with the right (fig. 35). In some later pictures, for example the consecration of Arsenije of Serbia, the bishop's gesture is ambiguous; it could be interpreted either as one of blessing or as imposition of a hand.

stands inclined with his hands crossed. Another personage in tunic and mantle, also holding a scroll in his left hand, places his right on the shoulder of the inclined bishop; his features seem to be those of Saint Peter. Two interpretations of the iconography have been proposed. A. Stránský, 'Les ruines de l'église de Saint-Nicolas à Melnik,' *Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici* 6 (1940), 424, figs. 136 ii, 137 i, suggested the presentation by Saint Peter of Nicolas, patron of the church, to Christ. Such scenes are known from pre-Iconoclast churches, but in the 13th and 14th centuries it was more usual for the patron saint to present the donor, leading him by the hand. A. Xyngopoulos, 'Observations on the paintings of Saint Nicolas, Melnik' (in Greek), *Epistemonike Epeteris Philosophikes Scholes Panep. Thessalonikes* 6 (1947), 115-128, followed by Ana Cituridu, 'Zidno slikarstvo Svetog Pantelejmona u Solunu,' *Zograf* 6 (1975), 17-18, preferred the consecration of James as bishop of Jerusalem. This subject was certainly represented in post-Byzantine art, Walter, 'Church Appointments,' 110-111, fig. 1. Again there are points of resemblance, in that Christ holds a scroll and James has his hands crossed. However, it is not clear why this subject would have been represented at Melnik, nor why an apostolic consecration should take place in the presence of a number of saintly bishops, all held in high esteem in the Byzantine Church, particularly since Nicolas, the patron saint, is absent. As the scene is unique, no certain interpretation is possible. However, if this is a consecration scene, a more likely identification of the inclined bishop is Nicolas himself, the more so because there existed the legend of Christ's personal intervention in his consecration ceremony.

95. See above, 25 and preceding note.

These differences can be explained by reference to texts describing the ceremony. The description of the ordination of deacons in Acts 6,6, recounts that when the apostles had prayed, they laid hands upon the deacons. As has been seen for baptism, the imposition of hands was a widely used gesture in early Christian art.⁹⁶ This may, therefore, be the earliest formula for the representation of the conferment of orders. The imposition of a Gospel Book on the head of the ordinand is an act peculiar to the consecration of a bishop.⁹⁷ If it was not retained after the 9th century in Byzantine iconography, it may be because it was not the constitutive act of consecration.

Blessing was substituted for other gestures, as has been seen, in other representations of ceremonies. However its prevalence in ordination scenes may have a profounder explanation. In two late Byzantine texts there is a discussion of ordination rites. One is a *Commentary* by George Pachymeres on the *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy* of Dionysius the Areopagite.⁹⁸ Himself a deacon, he maintained that the constitutive act of an ordination to the diaconate was the prayers of other deacons, to which the bishop gave his assent. A priest was 'sanctified' by prayers. Hands were imposed on a bishop, but the constitutive act again was prayer.

His opinion was confirmed by the synodal Tome of 1409, which was promulgated in order to resolve the question at what moment a bishop elect was actually consecrated. A delinquent bishop had maintained that he received the episcopate when he was elected. This was not accepted by the synod.⁹⁹

If the candidate is already a bishop, he makes a mistake if he refers to himself as a priest in his profession of faith. The ordaining bishop makes a mistake in calling him a priest in the prayer of the epiclesis before the little blessing. Ordination is, then superfluous, as is the accolade after ordination.

Unlike Western theologians, who distinguished in the conferment

96. See above, 126–127.

97. Symeon of Thessaloniki, *De sacra ordinatione*, PG 155, 408–429; De Meester, *Studi sui sacramenti* (note 75), 262; Darrouzès, *Offikia*, 148–154.

98. Dionysius the Areopagite, *De ecclesiastica hierarchia* 5 vii, PG 3, 508–516; George Pachymeres, *Paraphrasis*, *ibid.*, 525. See also Maximus of Chrysopolis, *Scholia in librum de hierarchia*, PG 4, 159–168.

99. V. Laurent, 'Un paradoxe théologique: la forme de la consécration épiscopale selon le métropolite d'Ancyre Macaire,' *OCP* 13 (1947), 551–561; *idem*, 'Trisépiscopat,' 84–86, 140–142.

of a sacrament the form (the words pronounced) and the matter (the gesture of administration), Byzantine theologians concentrated on the form. In later tradition it was also maintained that the words pronounced in a prayer actually consecrated, although there were different opinions as to which was the consecrating prayer.¹⁰⁰ Nevertheless it is clear from the Greek texts that, when the final prayer was pronounced, the ordinand was already a bishop, for in this prayer the perfect passive form of the verb to consecrate is used. In the conferment of orders, later preference for a blessing gesture may be the result of theological development; it was the most lucid way of signifying the consecrating prayer.

The conferment of orders was almost invariably represented before an altar with baldacchino. Several bishops and other personages might be introduced, making gestures of acclamation such as those already present on the Grado ivory. In the Byzantine ritual those present acclaim the ordinand as *axios*.¹⁰¹ Deacons may hold a *rhipidion* and thurible, as in *Basileen*. AN I 8, f. P, or a pitcher and basin, as in the ordination of Nicolas of Myra to the priesthood at Sopoćani (fig. 33).¹⁰²

The ordinand was normally represented as wearing the vestment typical of the order which he was receiving: the *orarion*, *epitrachelion* or *omophorion*. No pictures of the conferment of this vestment exist, although the presentation by Christ and the Virgin of a book and *omophorion* to Nicolas of Myra recalls that these were the essential attributes of the episcopacy.¹⁰³

As has been seen, the consecration of a bishop generally occurs in a biographical context. Only in non-Byzantine pictures can there be sometimes discerned an interest in the apostolic origins of a see. Even when they began to insist that the see of Byzantium had been founded by Saint Andrew, the Byzantines did not represent him consecrating the first bishop, or, if they did, no example of such a picture has survived.

The occasional substitution, restricted to chronicle illustration, of a scene other than consecration to mark the accession of patriarchs, recalls the fact that the conferment of orders was preceded by an

100. M. Jugie, *Theologica Dogmatica Christianorum Orientalium* III (Paris, 1930), 390-438.

101. See note 97.

102. Walter, 'Church Appointments,' 115, pls. 4, 7.

103. See above, 103-104.

election. This practice existed already in apostolic times, for, prior to ordaining them, the apostles had elected the seven deacons (Acts 6.5–6). It was maintained in the *Apostolic Tradition*¹⁰⁴ and the *Apostolic Constitutions*,¹⁰⁵ and duly passed into Byzantine ritual as the little and the great blessing, two rites which were, except in the case of patriarchs of Constantinople, later combined in a single ceremony.¹⁰⁶ From earliest times emperors played a decisive role in the choice of the bishop for the capital. Already in 338/9 Constantius II intervened to have Eusebius translated from Nicomedia to Constantinople.¹⁰⁷ This practice was rapidly institutionalized. The emperor chose a name from a short-list drawn up by the synod, or substituted his own candidate. He pronounced the following formula: 'The Holy Trinity, which has given us royalty, promotes you to the office of archbishop of Constantinople, the New Rome, and of ecumenical patriarch.'¹⁰⁸ He then invested the new patriarch with his *rhabdos*. The unique miniature of the investiture of Alexius the Studite with his *rhabdos*, in the Madrid Skylitzes, f. 196^v, has the peculiarity that an emissary of the emperor is performing the ceremony.¹⁰⁹ Otherwise Alexius the Studite would not be represented enthroned while the personage holding the *rhabdos* remains standing. Probably the scene of the investiture of Sergius II, f. 184, is more evocative of the ceremony, in that he stands before the enthroned emperor.¹¹⁰ However the *rhabdos* is not depicted. A further scene probably inspired by investiture is that of the resignation of Gregory of Nazianzus, *Paris. graec.* 543, f. 288^v, in which he is returning his *rhabdos* to the emperor Theodosius (fig. 51).¹¹¹

104. L. Duchesne, *Origine du culte chrétien*, 5th ed. (Paris, 1920), Appendix, 543–560.

105. *Didascalia et Constitutiones Apostolorum*, ed. F. X. Funk (Paderborn, 1905), I, 470–477; J. Tixeront, *L'ordre et les ordinations* (Paris, 1925); O. Barlea, *Die Weihe der Bischöfe, Presbyter und Diakone in vornicänischer Zeit* (Munich, 1969).

106. Darrouzès, *Offikia*, 148–154.

107. G. Dagron, *Naissance d'une capitale, Constantinople et ses institutions de 330 à 451* (Paris, 1974), 418–477.

108. *De officiis*, ed. Verpeaux, 277–283; V. Laurent, 'Le rituel de l'investiture du patriarche byzantin au début du 15^e siècle,' *Bulletin de la section historique de l'Académie roumaine* 28 (1947), 218–232.

109. Grabar & Manoussacas, *Skylitzès*, no. 93. Compare the consecration of Mark by Saint Peter, 132 note 93, above.

110. Grabar & Manoussacas, *Skylitzès*, no. 471.

111. Walter, 'Church Appointments,' 120–121, pl. 11.

THE CULT OF THE DEAD AND THE CULT OF RELICS

5. Funerary rites

Death has been an important theme for the artists of all cultures, and Byzantine artists were no exception. They took up and developed themes already treated in antique art, adapting them to the rites of the Christian Church. To the death of heroes succeeded that of Christ, the Virgin, martyrs, other saints and even of the common run of mankind. The subject of death also lent itself to moralisation, especially in monastic art. A full treatment would require a book to itself.¹¹² In the present chapter, therefore, the discussion will be limited to the ritualisation of death-scenes. Over the centuries the Byzantine Church developed elaborate rites to mark the passage of mortals to eternal life.¹¹³ However, in art, cycles of the rites were rarely represented before the 14th century, and then only for Christ and the Virgin. One scene was selected to typify the whole. In antique art, the typical scene had been that of mourners around the death-bed. It seems that in Byzantine art there was a break with tradition. When death was not violent, artists preferred to represent a funeral procession or the burial of the deceased person. Later a new iconographical type emerged, deriving from the scene of mourners around the death-bed. This was the *prothesis* or lying in state, which had a distinctly ritual character.

After a brief treatment of the funeral procession and entombment, it will be shown how the death-bed scene was adapted to become a ceremonial lying in state.

i. The funeral procession

In the antique *funus translaticium*, the dead man was carried in an

112. Ch. Walter, 'Death in Byzantine Iconography,' *ECR* 8 (1976), 113–127, offers a cursory survey of the material. For some moralizing themes, R. Stichel, *Studien zum Verhältnis von Text und Bild spät- und nachbyzantinischer Vergänglichkeitsdarstellungen* (Vienna, 1971).

113. Symeon of Thessaloniki, *De ordine sepulturae*, PG 155, 669–696; P. Matzerath, *Die Totenfeiern der byzantinischen Kirche* (Paderborn, 1939); A. Raes, 'Defunti: Onori alla salma nei riti orientali,' *Enciclopedia Cattolica* 4, 1320–1323; Koukoules, *Vie* (note 75), IV, 148–248; V. Bruni, *I funerali di un sacerdote nel rito bizantino secondo gli eucologi manoscritti di lingua greca* (Jerusalem, 1972); *Le Mystère de la mort et sa célébration*, Lex Orandi, 12 (Paris, 1951); J. Kyriakakis, 'Care of the Deceased from Death to the Prothesis,' *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 19 (1974), 37–72; *La maladie et la mort du chrétien dans la liturgie*, ed. A. M. Triacca & A. Pistoia (Rome, 1975).

open coffin or on a stretcher to his burial place.¹¹⁴ The procession was accompanied by professional mourners, torchbearers, flutists and trumpeters. Descriptions in Byzantine texts suggest that in Christian usage the funeral procession was not greatly modified. In the *Life of Andrew the Fool* there is an account of the vast crowd which accompanied the mourning relatives.¹¹⁵ They carried tapers, swung censers and sang with raised voices. When the patriarch Nilus was interred, his body was carried to Saint Sophia where it was deposited before the doors.¹¹⁶ There tapers were distributed. The body was then carried through the church, accompanied by chanters, and thence to the burial place.

The procession was used to illustrate the death of Rachel and Jacob in the Vienna Genesis, ff. 13^v, 24^v.¹¹⁷ It persists in the Vatican Book of Kings, ff. 34^v, 38, 43^v.¹¹⁸ In the 9th-century *Paris. graec.* 510, f. 30^v, there is a miniature of the disciples carrying Christ to the tomb. Two further funeral processions are represented in this manuscript, for the death of Gregory's brother Caesarius, f. 43^v, and of Basil, f. 104.¹¹⁹ Mourners follow the bier, while a bishop precedes it holding an incense boat and censer.

These pictures are by no means as elaborate or picturesque as real funeral processions. Moreover they disappear from Byzantine art until the Palaeologan period. It then became customary either to expand the Festival cycle, introducing extra scenes from Christ's Passion, or to represent his Passion as a separate cycle. The scene of his disciples carrying his body to the tomb was brought back, as, for example, at Saint George, Staro Nagoričino (1316–1318), or at Saint Andrew, Treska (1388/9).¹²⁰

ii. Entombment

In early scenes of entombment the mortal remains are placed in a cave or chapel. Examples occur again in the Vienna Genesis; the iconographical type persists for Old Testament deaths and for that

114. Ch. Daremberg & E. Saglio, *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines* II, 'Funus,' 1367–1409.

115. PG 111, 724.

116. V. Laurent, 'Notes de chronographie et d'histoire byzantines,' *Echos d'Orient* 36 (1937), 172.

117. H. Gerstinger, *Die Wiener Genesis* (Vienna, 1931), 96–97, 110, pls. 26, 48.

118. J. Lassus, *Illustration byzantine du Livre des Rois* (Paris, 1973), figs. 65, 74, 81.

119. Omont, *Miniatures*, 15, 20, pls. 23, 31.

120. Djurić, *Vizantijske Freske*, 51, 86.

of Christ.¹²¹ It was used in the 10th-century church of Balkan Dere 3, Cappadocia, where two deacons are portrayed carrying the body of Basil towards a chapel.¹²² However already by the 9th century a sarcophagus was being substituted for the cave or chapel.

In *Paris. graec.* 510, f. 452, two personages in tunics are portrayed lowering the body of Gregory of Nazianzus into a sarcophagus, while a third holds a censer.¹²³ A similar picture, with a bishop holding a censer, illustrates the burial of John the Baptist in the 11th-century *Paris. graec.* 74, f. 76.¹²⁴ This could be a copy of the much earlier picture of the entombment of John the Baptist in the monastery of Saint John Studius, known from a description in a homily by Theodore the Studite.

The use of censers gives a ritual character to the burial. Lowering into the tomb was the prevailing iconographical type for funerals. It was used twice in the earliest illuminated manuscript of the liturgical edition of Gregory's homilies, *Mosquen. graec.* 146, f. 81, 181^v, for Basil and Athanasius.¹²⁵ It recurs in the closely related Turin C I 6, f. 37^v, for Cyprian, as well as in Athos Panteleimon 6, f. 100, and *Paris. Coislin.* 239, f. 75, for Basil.¹²⁶ The same iconographical type was used for the death of Nicolas of Myra on the earliest surviving biographical icon, the 11th-century triptych at Saint Catherine's, Mount Sinai.¹²⁷ It persists on some later biographical icons.

When a burial scene, particularly deposition in a sarcophagus, had been established as the normal way of signifying the death of a particular personage, artists tended to recopy it. This is invariably the case for the death of John the Baptist.¹²⁸ However, from the 11th century, the iconographical type of lying in state was increasingly preferred.

iii. *From death-bed to lying in state*

The death-bed was an established iconographical type in antique

121. K. Weitzmann, 'The Origins of the Threnos,' *Festschrift Panofsky*, 477-478, reprinted *Book Illuminations and Ivories*.

122. Walter, 'Three Hierarchs,' 247, fig. 3, pl. 1 a.

123. Omont, *Miniatures*, 31, pl. 60.

124. Walter, 'John the Baptist,' 77-78, fig. 13.

125. Galavaris, *Gregory Nazianzenus*, figs. 11, 15.

126. *Ibid.*, figs. 44, 149, 221.

127. Patterson-Sevčenko, *Saint Nicholas*; see above, 79 note 273.

128. Babić, *Chapelles annexes, passim*, esp. 121-125; Grozdanov, *Ohridsko Slikarstvo*, 62-63, figs. 41-42.

art. It was represented on sarcophagi.¹²⁹ Personages gather round the death-bed; they hold covered hands to their mouths or eyes; they raise their arms in delirious gestures. In the Vienna Genesis, the miniatures illustrating the deaths of Isaac, Deborah, Rachel and Jacob follow in the same tradition.¹³⁰ However, by changing details, the basic meaning of the iconographical type could be modified. It could serve to illustrate a nativity and an illness which was not mortal.

Although the death-bed was primarily a scene of mourning, it began early to receive elements from funeral rites. The miniature illustrating Gregory's funeral oration for his sister, Gorgonia, *Paris. graec.* 510, f. 43^v, portrays Gregory of Nyssa leaning forward to hear the expiring Gorgonia's last words.¹³¹ They are expressed in a legend: 'I will both lie down in peace and sleep' (Psalm 4, 8). The two Gregories are present rather as mourners. However beside the couch burn two tapers. In the Menologium of Basil II, p. 354, Ephrem, whose death served as a paragon for the saintly monk, reclines on a mat. To the right stands a monk holding a censer.¹³²

The development of death-scenes into a ceremonial lying in state or *prothesis* is most easily traced in the iconography of the Dormition of the Virgin.¹³³ Not only was it frequently represented but also it served as a paradigm for other representations of lying in state, just as in Byzantine spirituality the Virgin's Dormition was considered to be the model for a Christian death.¹³⁴ The two earliest known examples date from the 10th century.¹³⁵ That in a monastery of Wadi Natrun, executed during the lifetime of Abbot Moses of Nisibis (926-927), is simple in conception. Christ stands behind the Virgin's couch accompanied by angels. Saints Peter and Paul are inclined towards the prostrate body. The contemporary example in a funeral chapel at Ayvalı kilise, Cappadocia, already assumes a

129. Walter, 'Death' (note 112), 116, fig. 2.

130. Gerstinger, *Die Wiener Genesis* (note 117), 174

131. Omont, *Miniatures*, 15, pl. 23.

132. J. R. Martin, 'The Death of Ephrem in Byzantine and early Italian Painting,' *Art Bull* 33 (1951), 217-225.

133. Ludmila Wratislaw-Mitrović & N. Okunev, 'La Dormition de la Sainte Vierge dans la peinture médiévale orthodoxe,' *Byzantinoslavica*, 3 (1931), 134-174.

134. C. Andronikov, 'La Dormition comme type de mort chrétienne,' *La maladie et la mort* (note 113), 13-29; the death of queen Helena of Serbia was explicitly likened to that of the Virgin, *Stari srpske biografije*, ed. M. Vasić (Belgrade, 1924), 67-69.

135. Nicole & M. Thierry, 'Ayvalı kilise ou le pigeonnier de Gülli Dere,' *CA* 15 (1964), 128-130, figs. 21-22; Walter, 'Death' (note 112), 119.

ritual character, for Saint Peter holds an incense boat while Saint John holds a censer. Beside the picture is inscribed a legend: 'The souls of the just are in the hands of God' (Wisdom 3,1).

Possibly the earliest picture of the Dormition in which bishops figure is the miniature in the Lectionary of the *skevophylakion* in the Great Lavra, f. 134^v, dating from the 10th or 11th century.¹³⁶ They do not as yet take part in the funeral rite, although Saint John is represented in the miniature giving the Virgin the *aspasmos* or last kiss. In other pictures, as for example at Agaç altı kilise, Cappadocia, Christ gives the Virgin the *aspasmos*.¹³⁷ The number of bishops present varies from two to four. They are the first bishops of the Christian Church: Dionysius and Hierotheus of Athens, James of Jerusalem and Timothy of Ephesus. According to a tradition for which one of the earliest witnesses is John of Thessaloniki (died about 630), they were actually present at the Virgin's demise (fig. 39).¹³⁸

In due course, the bishops take an active part in the funeral rite. At Sopoćani (1265–1268) two of them hold censers.¹³⁹ In later versions they hold an office book, which may be open and inscribed with an appropriate phrase (fig. 37). Sometimes the text inscribed is taken from Psalm 118, 1: 'Blessed are the blameless in the way, who walk in the law of the Lord', as, for example, at Lesnovo (1349).¹⁴⁰ Other texts were also used, taken from the Church's offices for the dead.

From the 14th century, as, for example, at Gračanica (about 1320), a funeral procession is represented.¹⁴¹ It forms part of a cycle which begins with an angel announcing to the Virgin that her death is near. The Apostles carry the Virgin's bier towards a sarcophagus. The cycle ends with the Apostles gazing into the empty tomb, while above the Virgin is carried up to heaven.

From the 11th century the iconographical type of the Dormition was being used for the death of Basil and Athanasius in some illuminated manuscripts of Gregory's *Homilies*.¹⁴² There are some fifteen examples, which are lacking in overall consistency. Artists

136. *Treasures III*, fig. 8; see above, 62 note 175.

137. Nicole & M. Thierry, *Nouvelles églises rupestres de Cappadoce* (Paris, 1963), 79–80.

138. *Homélie de Jean de Thessalonique*, ed. M. Jugie, *Patrologia Orientalis* 19, 344–438.

139. Djurić, *Vizantijske Freske*, 40, pl. XXVII.

140. *Ibid.*, 65. See also Psača (1365–1371), *ibid.*, 75, and Saint Athanasius, Kastoria,

V. Djurić, 'Mali Grad, Sv. Atanasije u Kosturu, Borge,' *Zograf* 6 (1975), figs. 30, 34.

141. Hamann-MacLean & Hallensleben, *Monumentalmalerei*, pls. 285–291.

142. Galavaris, *Gregory Nazianzenus*, 41, 46–52, 59–60; Walter, 'Gregory of Nazianzus,' 197–199, 204–205.

selected different elements of funeral ritual: lighted tapers, the *asposmos*, or incensation. In *Paris. graec.* 550, f. 209^v, a deacon holds the censer; in *Paris. graec.* 543, f. 260^v, the personage is a bishop.¹⁴³ In this last miniature the body of Athanasius is placed under a baldacchino, as is that of Basil in the same manuscript, f. 130^v.¹⁴⁴ In Jerusalem Taphou 14, f. 114, Basil's bier is placed between the altar and the baptismal font.¹⁴⁵ These details seem to recall the fact that a bishop's lying in state took place in a church.¹⁴⁶

A similar iconographical type was used later for Nicolas. The earliest surviving example is that in the cycle at Boiana (1259).¹⁴⁷ Nicolas is extended on a bier beside which stand two bishops, one holding a censer. This picture is described in the accompanying legend as a Dormition. There are other examples in the Bogorodica Ljeviška, Prizren (1310–1313), Saint Nicolas Orphanus, Thessaloniki (about 1325), and the monastery of Marko, Sušica (about 1375). In these last examples a personage holds an open office book inscribed with the first word of Psalm 118.

It is not possible to know when lying in state was first used for effigies in funeral chapels. No effigy of a dead Byzantine emperor has survived. The eleven miniatures of the death of an imperial personage in the Madrid Skylitzes resemble those of the death of saints in other manuscripts of the 11th century.¹⁴⁸ Some are simple death-bed scenes; in others details are introduced from the funeral rites. Theophilus, f. 61^v, receives the *asposmos*.¹⁴⁹ Michael II, f. 42, lies on a bier, behind which are placed four large tapers; to left and right stand various mourning personages including bishops.¹⁵⁰

A better notion of what an imperial effigy looked like may be gained from two Slav examples. The death-scene of the Serbian

143. Galavaris, *Gregory Nazianzenus*, figs. 424, 466.

144. *Ibid.*, fig. 461.

145. *Ibid.*, fig. 114.

146. Kyriakakis, 'Care of the Deceased' (note 113), 55.

147. Patterson-Ševčenko, *Saint Nicholas*. In the death-scene on the icon at Kastoria, a book is placed on his crossed arms, as Symeon of Thessaloniki prescribed, PG 155, 676; see also Bruni, *I funerali* (note 113), 95. A personage holds an inscribed office book, V. Djurić, 'Izložbe u Atini . . .', *Zograf* 9 (1978), 64, fig. 8.

148. Grabar & Manoussacas, *Skylitzēs*, no. 92, Michael II; nos. 150–151, Theophilus; nos. 271–272, Leo VI; no. 276, Alexander; no. 308, Christopher; no. 327, Romanus Lecapenus; no. 346, Constantine VII; no. 355, Helena, mother of Romanus; no. 357, Romanus II; no. 361, Stephen, son of Romanus I; no. 503, Romanus III; no. 531, Michael IV.

149. *Ibid.*, no. 151.

150. *Ibid.*, no. 92.

queen Anne at Sopoćani (1263–1268) is highly circumstantial.¹⁵¹ Many of the personages present can be identified: her son Uroš with his wife Helena and her grandchildren Dragutin, Milutin and Brnjača, and archbishop Sava II. Christ advances with the Virgin towards the bier, recalling the fact that, according to the *De cerimoniis*, Christ summoned the dead emperor to enter his tomb.¹⁵² The death-scene of the Bulgarian boy prince Ivan Asen in the Vatican Manasses, f. 2 (1344–1345), closely resembles that of queen Anne.¹⁵³ It may therefore be inferred that behind them lies a model which would have been the death of a Byzantine emperor, although, like other pictures of lying in state, they owe something to the Dormition of the Virgin.

For the effigies of dead clerics it is again necessary to rely on surviving Slav examples. They differ somewhat in their details. Bishop Merkurije at Arilje (1296) lies prostrate on a bier, a book in his hands. A bishop stands on either side, one holding a book and another a censer.¹⁵⁴ Three priests perform the obsequies of Theodore of Lipljan at Gračanica (1320); one holds a candle, another a book and the third a censer.¹⁵⁵ Gabriel of Zletovo at Lesnovo (1346–1349) is surrounded by ten monks.¹⁵⁶ One holds an open book on which are inscribed the first words of Psalm 118. Archbishop Joanikije in the Holy Apostles, Peć (1354), has his obsequies performed by a bishop and two acolytes, each holding an inscribed open book.¹⁵⁷ In this case the text is a blessing.

A curious corollary to the development of the iconography of lying in state is provided by the Threnos of Christ.¹⁵⁸ At first, as has been noted, the typical scenes for Christ's interment were a procession or the placing of the dead body in the sepulchre. In the 11th century a new scene emerges: Christ's body is laid at the foot of the Cross. By the time that it was represented at Nerezi (1164), it has acquired great pathos. It is definitely a mourning scene, for which

151. VI. Petković, 'La mort de la reine Anne à Sopoćani,' *L'art byzantin chez les Slaves*, ed. G. Millet (Paris, 1930), I, 217–221; V. Djurić, *Sopoćani* (Leipzig, 1967), 18–20, 233. Although it cannot be proved, it is likely that the models for the Nemanjić effigies were those of the Comneni family at the Pantocrator, Constantinople.

152. *De cerimoniis*, ed. Vogt, II, 84–85.

153. Dujčev, *Minijature* (note 53), no. 2.

154. Djurić, 'Istorijske kompozicije,' *ZRVI* 11 (1968), 107, pl. 30.

155. *Ibid.*, 107–108, pl. 31.

156. *Ibid.*, 108–109.

157. *Ibid.*, 106, pls. 27–28.

158. Weitzmann, 'Origins of the Threnos' (note 121), 476–490.

artists may have sought inspiration in antique art as well as in the offices of Holy Saturday. However elements of funeral ritual are not absent. At Nerezi the Virgin and Saint John give Christ the *aspasmos*.¹⁵⁹ In due course, when the Threnos was represented on the Epitaphios, angels are introduced holding censers and *rhipidia*.¹⁶⁰

iv. Conclusion

It is in the iconography of funeral ceremonies that the Church's growing awareness of the importance of its own ritual is most evident. The purpose of these ceremonies was to facilitate the passage of mortal man to immortal life. By the 11th century the rite of lying in state had been established as best signifying this passage. Its doctrinal sense could be made more explicit by representing above the body an angel carrying the soul of the dead person to heaven. Ritual elements remain constant until the 14th century when there begin figure personages holding inscribed office books. It is likely that these developments first appeared in the Dormition, passing subsequently to the representation of other deaths, even that of Christ.

Since Byzantine artists normally represented only one scene, the funeral procession and entombment tend to disappear. However, as will be seen, an iconographical type resembling the funeral procession was commonly used to represent the translation of relics.

Bishops figure frequently in funeral scenes. They may be present as mourners. Alternatively they may play an active part in the rite, giving the *aspasmos*, holding a censer or reading the office. However, since other members of the clergy are also represented performing these functions, it is clear that no ceremonial action was reserved to bishops.

6. The cult of relics

The cult offered for the dead took on special forms in the case of saintly personages. Throughout Christendom their relics were

159. Djurić, *Vizantijske Freske*, 14, pl. VI.

160. Walter, 'Death' (note 112), 123, fig. 8; Taft, *Great Entrance*, 216-219.

prized and venerated.¹⁶¹ This veneration was extended to objects intimately associated with them, particularly in the case of Christ and the Virgin who had left no mortal remains on earth. It also extended to portrayals of their human features which were not due to human hands. Interest in relics was especially intense in the century following the foundation of Constantinople and again after the Triumph of Orthodoxy. Relics were 'invented', translated and deposited in a shrine, where they were venerated and from which they could be brought out to be carried in procession, particularly in times of peril. With the exception of the relics of Demetrius,¹⁶² which were venerated in Thessaloniki, and of Nicolas¹⁶³ which remained in Myra until they were taken to Bari, all important relics of Eastern saints were translated to Constantinople. This interest in relics is reflected in Byzantine art. For some of them special iconographical themes were created; for others the themes were generic. It is likely that the creation of these themes took place in the periods when interest in relics was more intense. The early scenes were modelled on the imperial Adventus. Later scenes are closer to those generally used in funerary art.

i. *Adventus*

On the ivory panel in the Domschatz at Trier, two bishops are represented seated in a chariot and holding a reliquary on their knees.¹⁶⁴ The chariot, which is within the walls of a city or the precincts of a palace, is proceeding towards a chapel. Outside the chapel stands a female personage, imperially dressed, and holding a long-armed cross. The most recent study of this ivory retains the majority view that it is a 6th-century Constantinopolitan work. The scene is identified as the translation of the arm of Saint Stephen to the chapel built for it by the empress Pulcheria in 421. The same study distinguishes three stages in Adventus ceremonial: the *synanthesis*, or joyful and triumphant meeting of relics on their arrival at a

161. H. Delehay, *Les origines du culte des martyrs* (Brussels, 1933); A. Grabar, *Martyrium* (Paris, 1943–1946; repr. London, 1972).

162. Ch. Walter, 'St Demetrius: the Myroblytos of Thessalonika,' *ECR* 5 (1973), 157–178, reprinted *Studies*.

163. G. Anrich, *Hagios Nikolaos II* (Berlin, 1917), 514–526.

164. R. Delbrueck, *Die Consulardiptychen und verwandte Denkmäler* (Berlin/Leipzig, 1929), no. 67; Volbach, *Elfenarbeiten*, no. 143; Suzanne Spain, 'The Translation of Relics Ivory, Trier,' *DOP* 31 (1978), 279–304; Holum & Vikan, 'Trier Ivory,' 113–133.

city; the *propompe* or escort of the relics through the city; the *apothesis* or deposition of the relics in the shrine prepared for them.

On the Trier panel, the *propompe* is represented. However in later examples the *propompe* is distinguished from the *synantesis* only by the topographical details of the setting. For example in two miniatures in the Madrid Skylitzes, the *synantesis* and the *propompe* seem to be combined. The translation of the body of Michael III, rehabilitated by his grandson Leo VI, to the Holy Apostles, is illustrated on f. 106^v (fig. 40).¹⁶⁵ To the right are two personages carrying the emperor Michael III's mortal remains. The patriarch Stephen stands in the centre. To the left, before the Holy Apostles, identified by a legend, are Leo's brother Alexander and a group of personages, making gestures of veneration. In the miniature illustrating the translation of the hand of John the Baptist, f. 138, a personage advances from the left, carrying a reliquary on his head.¹⁶⁶ The patriarch Polyeuctus stands to the right awaiting the procession. This would represent the *synantesis*. To the right, under an arcade, the patriarch figures a second time, accompanied by two bishops and a group of clergy, one of whom holds a censer. This would represent the *propompe*.

It is difficult to distinguish the *synantesis* from the *propompe* in the more concise representations of a translation. They too derive from the imperial Adventus, for which a concise version used on coins is known. A miniature dating from the 4th or 5th century illustrates the Translation of the relics of Luke and Andrew to Constantinople in 336.¹⁶⁷ The two personages who hold the relics approach the city walls; consequently this must be the *synantesis*. In the 10th-century manuscript of Lives of Saints, Athos Vatopediou 456, f. 253, a miniature illustrates the Translation of the head of Abibus.¹⁶⁸ A group of personages, one holding a censer, approach the shrine. The foremost personage holds a reliquary in his outstretched hands but looks back towards the others. This scene may represent the *propompe*, although Holum and Vikan suggest that the foremost personage is actually depositing the relics, in which case it would rather be the *apothesis*. A similar concise version is known from two

165. Grabar & Manoussacas, *Skylitzès*, no. 243.

166. *Ibid.*, no. 343.

167. H. Lietzmann, 'Ein Blatt aus einer antiken Weltchronik,' *Quantulacumque, Studies Presented to Kirsopp Lake*. . . (London, 1937), 339-348; Der Nersessian, 'Metaphrastian Menologium,' 224; Holum & Vikan, 'Trier Ivory,' 117, fig. 2.

168. Holum & Vikan, 'Trier Ivory,' 120, fig. 8; see above, 51 note 111.

miniatures of the translation of the Virgin's robe, one in volume of Metaphrastic Lives, *Mosquen. graec.* 9, f. 159^v, dated 1063, for August 15, and the other, for the same date, in the later Athos Dionysiou 50, f. 242.¹⁶⁹ The rudimentary edifice before which arrive the three personages on horseback carrying a reliquary is named in a legend 'Blachernae.' Consequently this is the *propompe*.

According to the Metaphrastic story, the Virgin's mantle was acquired during the reign of Leo I.¹⁷⁰ If so, considering the importance of the relic, it is likely that the 11th-century miniature is a copy of a much earlier version, executed soon after the translation. The same would be true for pictures of the translation of other important relics early acquired for Constantinople, even if they were actually executed at a far later date. The scene of the translation of the body of Stephen in the south chapel of the church at Žiča was painted during the episcopate of Sava III (1309–1315).¹⁷¹ To the right, before an architectural background, stands a group of bishops holding a reliquary or sarcophagus in which the haloed head of Stephen is visible. To the left, again before an architectural background, stand the haloed emperor, and the patriarch wearing a *polystavrion* and holding a cross; they are accompanied by a group of clergy, one of whom holds a censer. Between the two groups a number of personages on their knees await the arrival of the relic; this detail recalls the Entry of Christ to Jerusalem, itself modelled upon the imperial Adventus.¹⁷² According to another hagiographical tradition, the relics of Stephen were translated to Constantinople in the time of Constantine and Metrophanes.¹⁷³ Some details—the patriarch's *polystavrion* and the bishops holding the reliquary—are not ancient. However the most likely original for this scene is a painting in the church in Constantinople in which the relics had been deposited. Another early translation of important relics, of which no early picture has survived, was that of John Chrysostom. In the Menologium of Basil II, p. 353, the text at the date of the

169. Der Nersessian, 'Metaphrastian Menologium,' 230; see above, 50 note 104, 51, note 110.

170. Der Nersessian, *loc. cit.*; PG 115, 560–566.

171. Mirjana Ćorović-Ljubinković, 'Odras kulta Sv. Stefana u srpskoj srednjevekovnoj umetnosti,' *Starinar* 12 (1961), 45–62; Babić, *Chapelles annexes*, 144–145; M. Kašanin, etc., *Žiča* (Belgrade, 1969), 173–175.

172. Walter, 'Papal Political Imagery,' *CA* 21 (1971), 126–133; Holum & Vikan, 'Trier Ivory,' 118, fig. 4.

173. F. Nau, 'Mélanges, sur une prétendue translation à Constantinople,' *ROC* 11 (1906), 209–210; *ibid.*, 12 (1907), 441–444; Holum & Vikan, 'Trier Ivory,' 127 note 72.

commemoration, January 27, recounts the story of the translation of his relics in the time of Theodosius and Proclus.¹⁷⁴ The accompanying miniature shows the emperor and patriarch awaiting the arrival of the sarcophagus, which is carried by personages wearing the *phelonion*.

The iconographical type was adapted for the illustration of later translations. At the date of the commemoration of the first and second inventions of the head of John the Baptist, February 24, there is in the same manuscript, p. 420, a picture of the third invention (fig. 42). Slightly different versions are to be found in *Mosquen. graec.* 183, f. 108, and Athos Dionysiou 587, f. 148.¹⁷⁵ To the right is the scene of the actual invention; to the left has been represented only the welcoming committee for the Adventus of the relic, headed by the emperor and a bishop holding a censer. According to the text which the miniature accompanies, the third invention and the translation of John the Baptist's head to Constantinople took place at the time of Michael III and Ignatius.¹⁷⁶

Another adaptation of the Adventus formula was that for the translation to Studenica of the relics of Symeon Nemanja (the name Stefan Nemanja took on becoming a monk).¹⁷⁷ The versions at Studenica (1233–1234) and at Sopoćani (1263–1268) are similar, and based on the account of the translation in the *Life* by his son Sava I.¹⁷⁸ The relics are carried by two Serbian princes, while members of the clergy advance to meet them, carrying an icon of the Virgin (fig. 41).

It is likely that these scenes of the translation of relics were imperial rather than ecclesiastical in their origins. The same iconographical type persists throughout the Byzantine epoch for translations which were important as civic as well as religious events.

ii. *Invention*

The most important invention was that of the True Cross. Yet,

174. *PG* 177, 281.

175. Walter, 'John the Baptist,' 74–75, fig. 4.

176. *PG* 117, 325.

177. Djurić, 'Istorijske kompozicije,' *ZRVI* 8 (1964), 69–90; Babić, *Chapelles annexes*, 142–144, figs. 108–111, 114.

178. Babić, *Chapelles annexes*, 142. See also two cycles for the translation of the relics of Saint Mark: the mosaics in San Marco, Venice (1260–1270), O. Demus, *Die Mosaiken von San Marco in Venedig* (Vienna, 1935), 47, 51, pls. 39, 40, 43; the enamels of the Pala d'Oro, *Tesoro di San Marco*, I, *La Pala d'Oro*, 42, 45.

curiously, only one Byzantine example has survived, that in the Paris Gregory, f. 440.¹⁷⁹ In Western art, from the Carolingian period, the subject was often represented, while examples are known also in Syrian and post-Byzantine art.¹⁸⁰ The Invention of John the Baptist's head was represented often, whether at the date of the first and second inventions, February 24, in calendars, or, more rarely, at that of the third invention, April 25, or in illustration to the Metaphrastic *Life* read on August 29. The iconography of these scenes is normally the same. Personages with picks unearth the head which is placed in a vase.¹⁸¹ Exceptionally, at Gračanica, the head is discovered in an amphora. This detail from the story of the first invention suggests that there once existed a developed cycle; corroborative evidence is supplied by fragments of such a cycle which have survived in Russia.¹⁸²

Examples of a cycle for the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste exist in the marginal Psalters and in the wallpaintings in Saint Sophia, Ohrid.¹⁸³ The martyrs' relics are thrown in the river, recovered and placed in a coffer. In this last episode Peter, bishop of Sebaste, participates. He stands on the bank of the river holding a censer, accompanied by two clerics holding a coffer. The story is ancient; it was recounted by Basil of Caesarea in a homily.¹⁸⁴ He quoted, with respect to the Forty Martyrs, Psalm 65, 12: 'We went through fire and water; but thou broughtest us out into a place of refreshment.' It is in illustration to this text that their cycle appears in the marginal Psalters.¹⁸⁵

The invention scene could be ancient, but it has not survived

179. Omont, *Miniatures*, 31, pl. 59.

180. Ch. Walter, 'Les dessins carolingiens dans un manuscrit de Verceil,' *CA* 19 (1968), 99–107; A. & Judith Stylianou, *By This Sign Conquer* (Nicosia, 1971); Y. Christe, 'Le cycle inédit de l'Invention de la Croix à S. Severo di Bardolino,' *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, Comptes rendus* 1978, 76–109.

181. Walter, 'John the Baptist,' 72–73.

182. Mijović, *Menolog*, 299, fig. 135, schema 29; Walter, 'John the Baptist', 72, 80.

183. Der Nersessian, *Theodore Psalter*, 65, 90 notes 10–11, 93, figs. 130–131; Vzdornov, *Kiev Psalter*, 122–123; P. Miljković-Pepel, 'Materijali za Makedonskata srednovekovna umetnost,' *Zbornik (1955–1956), Izdanija na Arheološkiot Muzej, Skopje* 1 (1956), 61–63; Babić, *Chapelles annexes*, 117–119. There are further representations in the Barberini Psalter, f. 107^{r-v}, and the Hamilton Psalter, f. 130^{r-v}.

184. *Homilia in sanctos quadraginta martyres*, PG 31, 508–525, esp. 521, *BHG*, 1205; Metaphrastic *Life*, B. Latyšev, *Menologii anonimi byzantini saeculi X quae supersunt* (Saint Petersburg, 1911–1912), I, 337–347, *BHG*, 1202.

185. Der Nersessian, *Theodore Psalter*, 92–93.

alongside pre-Iconoclast pictures of their martyrdom.¹⁸⁶ In view of its ritual character, it is likely that it dates rather from the period of renewed interest in relics after the Triumph of Orthodoxy.

Besides these scenes or cycles peculiar to the invention of specific relics, there are others for which a generic iconographical formula was used. A sarcophagus is opened, and the saint's body is disclosed intact, with a halo round the head. The earliest example occurs in the Menologium of Basil II, p. 391, for the Invention of the relics of the prophet Zachariah, commemorated on February 11. Three personages wearing a *phelonion*, one holding a censer and another a taper, stand beside the sarcophagus. Other examples are the Inventions of the relics of Cyrus and John, June 28, and of Bartholomew, August 25, in the wall-calendar at Cozia, as well as of Stephen, August 2, in that at Staro Nagoričino (fig. 38).¹⁸⁷ Only once, for Bartholomew, is a bishop included in the scene.

No specific role was attributed to bishops in the iconography of invention. The presence of Peter of Sebaste in scenes of the invention of the relics of the Forty Martyrs, is due to the fact that the texts refer to him.

iii. *Translation*

Besides the Adventus scenes described above, a generic iconographical formula also existed for the translation of relics. The earliest examples occur in the Menologium of Basil II, commemorating the Translations of the relics of Domitianus on January 10, p. 306, of Timothy on January 22, p. 341, of Anastasius at the same date, p. 344, and of Ignatius of Antioch, January 29, p. 355.¹⁸⁸ Clerics normally carry the sarcophagus, preceded by others holding a thurible or taper. Their destination, a city or a shrine, may be represented. However there is no reception committee. The same iconography is used for the Translations of the relics of Timothy in Baltimore cod. 521, f. 203 (fig. 43), and of Nicephorus on March 13

186. O. Demus, 'Two Palaeologan Mosaic Icons in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection,' *DOP* 14 (1960), 98–99; Zaga Gavrilović, 'The Forty in Art,' *The Byzantine Saint*, ed. S. Hackel (London, 1981), 190–194.

187. Mijović, *Menolog*, 359, 361, figs. 254, 258; *ibid.*, 283, fig. 109.

188. The text illustrated in the Menologium of Basil II is, in fact, an account of Timothy's death and burial at Ephesus, PG 117, 273. The iconography, therefore, corresponds better to the fuller account in the Imperial Menologium. A special scene was created for the translation by boat of the relics of Theodore the Studite, p. 175, P. Franchi de' Cavalieri, 'Un'antica rappresentazione della traslazione di S. Teodoro Studita,' *AB* 32 (1913), 230–235.

in *Mosquen. graec.* 183, p. 197.¹⁸⁹ In Athos Dionysiou 587, f. 144^v, unlike the Menologium of Basil II, it recurs again for the Translation of the relics of John Chrysostom, although in this case a bishop, presumably Proclus, heads the procession.¹⁹⁰ Further examples may be noted on calendar icons and in the Oxford Menologium.¹⁹¹ Exceptionally, for Gregory of Nazianzus, January 25, in the wall calendar at Staro Nagoričino (fig. 48), four deacons carry the sarcophagus, upon which is represented the saint's portrait in a *clipeus*; a bishop, holding a censer, faces the advancing procession.¹⁹²

iv. *Deposition*

On the doors of the cathedral at Suzdal are represented three scenes concerned with relics of the Virgin: the veil (*maphorion*), the girdle (*zone*) and the robe (*esthes*).¹⁹³ For the latter two relics the scene is one of deposition. In both cases the ceremony takes place at an altar before a baldacchino. Above the altar, for the Deposition of the girdle, is represented the Virgin being carried up to heaven by two angels, while a third one, in accordance with the legend, presents Saint Thomas with the girdle. Below, Thomas is represented again, placing the girdle on the altar. For the Deposition of the robe, the ceremony is religious. To the left of the altar stands the emperor with a bishop holding a censer. To the right stand two further bishops. Behind the altar, almost destroyed, can be seen a further personage depositing the robe. The accompanying legend is also partly destroyed: (*kata*)*thema*.

These scenes, which date from about 1230, have no exact equivalent in Byzantine art. The nearest is the miniature in the 11th-century volume of the Metaphrastic Lives, *Paris. graec.* 1528, f. 181^v.¹⁹⁴ It illustrates the text read on August 15 concerning the

189. See above, 52 notes 116, 117.

190. *Treasures I*, fig. 259; Holum & Vikan, 'Trier Ivory,' 118.

191. G. & Maria Soteriou, *Ikônes du Mont Sinai* (Athens, 1956), no. 136; Hutter, *Oxford/I* 2, f. 26^v, John Chrysostom and Ignatius of Antioch (January 27, 29), fig. 48; f. 50, Stephen (August 2), fig. 94; f. 52^v, Bartholomew (August 28), fig. 99.

192. Mijović, *Menolog*, 273, fig. 55.

193. Babić, *Chapelles annexes*, 38; A. Grabar, 'Une source d'inspiration de l'iconographie byzantine tardive: les cérémonies du culte de la Vierge,' *CA* 25 (1976), 147-162, reprinted in *L'art paléochrétien et l'art byzantin* (London, 1979).

194. Der Nersessian, 'Metaphrastian Menologium,' 230-231, fig. 9.

deposition of the Virgin's robe at the Blachernae.¹⁹⁵ Again the scene takes place at an altar before a baldacchino. The emperor stands to the left with a group of clerics, one of whom holds a censer, while other personages stand to the right. Since the miniature is damaged, it is not clear that bishops figure among them. On the altar is placed a large reliquary. The legend describes the scene as the Deposition of the Virgin's girdle, an anomaly, since the text is concerned with her robe. Strictly this is a scene of veneration, unlike those at Suzdal.

A post-Byzantine picture in the wall calendar at Sucevița for August 31, the date of the commemoration, instituted in the 10th century,¹⁹⁶ of the Translation of the Virgin's girdle from the Blachernae to the Chalkoprateia, shows both the girdle and the tunic placed on the altar.¹⁹⁷ The accompanying legend, however, refers only to the tunic.

The use of a picture of the Veneration of the Virgin's girdle to illustrate the Deposition of her robe may be a simple error. Yet it is suggestive that no ancient tradition exists for the deposition of either relic, although, as has been seen, there was an Adventus type of scene to illustrate the Translation of the robe. The picture of the Veneration of the girdle would have been created after its deposition at the Chalkoprateia. Only later does the door at Suzdal provide evidence that a deposition scene existed, adapted from a scene of veneration.

The absence at an earlier stage of any specific iconography for the deposition of relics is confirmed by the scenes which illustrate two commemorations of a deposition in the Menologium of Basil II. For Luke on October 18, p. 121, there is a picture of two personages, probably clerics, placing his body in a sarcophagus, while a third holds a censer. In the background is the church of the Holy Apostles. This, as has been observed, is a simple burial scene. The choice is unexpected given the importance of the translation of his relics, together with those of Andrew, to Constantinople in 336, an event which had previously been illustrated by an Adventus scene. For the second commemoration, that of the Persian martyrs in

195. *Commentarius de depositione zonae*, ed. Latyšev, *Menologii* (note 184), I, 342–344, BHG, 1058s.

196. M. Jugie, *La mort et l'assomption de la Sainte Vierge* (Vatican, 1944), 700–707.

197. Tania Velmans, 'Une illustration inédite de l'Acathiste et l'iconographie des hymnes liturgiques à Byzance,' *CA* 22 (1972), 160, 162, fig. 36; Grabar, 'Une source d'inspiration' (note 193), 150, fig. 6.

Martyropolis on February 16, p. 406, a similar choice was made; only this time the censer is held by a bishop.

v. *Veneration*

The earliest picture of the veneration of relics is in the *Menologium* of Basil II, p. 324, at the date of the commemoration of Saint Peter's miraculous delivery from prison, January 16 (fig. 47). Before a schematic representation of the sanctuary of a church stands a table, on which lie chains. A haloed bishop with covered hands is inclined before the table. The scene is virtually identical in Baltimore cod. 521, f. 105. The *Synaxaries* refer to the commemoration of January 16 as that of the Veneration of Saint Peter's chains.¹⁹⁸ It is said that they were translated to Constantinople thanks to pious emperors, and deposited in the Great Church. Evidence that this veneration ceremony continued is provided by the *Pilgrim Book* of Antony of Novgorod. According to this text, the chains, enclosed in a gold image, were suspended in the chapel of Saint Peter. On the feast of the chains the patriarch and everybody else venerated them.¹⁹⁹ In the 15th century they were deposited in another church.²⁰⁰

This commemoration was illustrated relatively often, for example in *Vatican. graec.* 1156, f. 294^v, in the 11th century, in the *Metaphrastic* volume for the second half of January, *Sinait.* 512, f. 2^v, in the non-*Metaphrastic* collection of *Lives of saints*, *Paris. graec.* 1561, f. 68^v, and in the wall calendar at Staro Nagoričino (fig. 48).²⁰¹ However, whereas it was usual to substitute a ceremonial scene for a narrative one as the liturgy assumed greater importance in the Byzantine Church, in this particular case the opposite has occurred. All the later pictures are of Saint Peter in prison, normally chained. In the miniature in *Vatican. graec.* 1156, however, there are represented two personages kneeling before the prison, their arms outstretched in a gesture of veneration or prayer.

In the same manuscript, f. 248^v, there are three miniatures of the Veneration of the True Cross, for September 11–13.²⁰² In each case

198. PG 117, 260–261; *Syn CP*, 395.

199. 'The Pilgrim Book of Antony, Archbishop of Novgorod' (in Russian) ed. H. M. Loparev, *Pravoslavnyj Palestinskij Sbornik* 51 (1899), 5; tr. B. de Khitrovo, *Itinéraires russes en Orient* (Geneva, 1899), 89.

200. G. P. Majeska, 'St. Sophia in the 14th and 15th Centuries, The Russian Travellers on the Relics,' *DOP* 27 (1973), 80.

201. Mijović, *Menolog*, 272, fig. 55.

202. K. Weitzmann, 'Byzantine Miniature and Icon Painting in the 11th Century,' *Studies*, 295.

the relic is placed on a table (fig. 44). Three personages in lay costume make gestures of veneration, while one or more bishops stand to the other side of the table making a gesture of speaking or blessing. A similar scene of king Abenner adoring the cross illustrates one of the manuscripts of Barlaam and Joasaph, Athos Iviron 463, f. 40^v.²⁰³

The scene in the Madrid Skylitzes, f. 33, is rather different.²⁰⁴ Against an elaborate architectural background, evoking the Blachernae, stand a haloed emperor and bishop, who are identified in the legend above them as Theophilus, son of Michael, and the patriarch. To the left, outside the church, stands a group of bishops, the first, who holds the cross, slightly inclined. Behind them are further personages, one stretching out his arms in a gesture of adoration. The miniature illustrates the account of a procession with relics around the walls of Constantinople, in order to protect the city from the attacks of Thomas. However it is rather a veneration scene.

The veneration ceremony performed on the feast of the Exaltation of the Cross, September 14, was represented more frequently. The earliest example to have survived is that in the Menologium of Basil II, p. 35, at the date of the feast. A haloed bishop stands on top of an ambo before the schematic representation of the sanctuary of a church. He holds up the cross. Four clerics, one holding a taper, stand on the steps of the ambo. The same scene recurs with variation only in detail, in Synaxaries, calendars and Lectionaries (fig. 45).²⁰⁵ The feast commemorates the recovery of the True Cross at the time of Heraclius and Macarius of Jerusalem, an event to which, apparently, more importance was attributed than to the invention by the empress Helena.²⁰⁶ In the Theodore Psalter, f. 131^v, the Exaltation of the Cross illustrates Psalm 98, 5; 'Exalt ye the Lord our God, and worship at his footstool', replacing the picture of the

203. Der Nersessian, *Barlaam and Joasaph*, fig. 66; PG 96, 1189–1192; Treasures I, fig. 78.

204. Grabar & Manoussacas, *Skylitzès*, no. 67. According to the text, ed. Thurn (note 19), 34, a relic of the Virgin was also carried in procession. This does not figure evidently in the miniature; moreover the accompanying legend refers only to the Cross.

205. Synaxary: Tbilisi cod. A 648, see above, 52 note 119. Calendars: Oxford Menologium, f. 9^v, Hutter, *Oxford I* 2, fig. 14; icon, Mount Sinai, Soteriou, *Icônes* (note 191), nos. 132, 134; wall-calendars, Staro Nagoričino and Gračanica, Mijović, *Menolog*, 260, 287, pls. 9, 119. Lectionaries: *Vatican. graec.* 1156, f. 250^v, Athos Dionysiou 587, f. 119^v, Athos Panteleimon 2, f. 189^v, see above, 62–63.

206. H. Leclercq, 'Croix, Invention,' *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie* 3, 3131–3139; Spain, 'Translation of Relics Ivory' (note 164), proposing that the scene on the Trier reliquary is the return of the True Cross.

Cross on Calvary used in early marginal Psalters. The bishop in this miniature is called John Chrysostom.²⁰⁷

A detailed description of the execution of the ceremony in Saint Sophia is given in the *De cerimoniis*.²⁰⁸ The emperor took part, standing on the steps of the ambo. However he does not figure in the miniature in the Menologium of Basil II, nor in subsequent representations apart from one 14th-century wall calendar.²⁰⁹ It has been suggested that the text in the *De cerimoniis* describes the ceremony as it was executed before the reign of Basil I and that, from the time when Leo VI was excluded from Saint Sophia on account of his scandalous fourth marriage, the emperor ceased to take part.²¹⁰ If this explanation is correct, then it may be that the 14th-century picture has undergone the influence of other Palaeologan representations of religious ceremonies in which the emperor figures, for example those in the *Akathistos* cycle.

There was also a generic iconographical formula for veneration. Personages, sometimes holding a censer, stand or make an inclination before a shrine, a reliquary or a tomb. This iconographical type was used in other contexts too: to illustrate the death of the princess Maria in the Madrid Skylitzes, f.52^v, and for the Deposition of the Virgin's girdle in *Paris. graec.* 1528, f.181^v.²¹¹ Other examples which may be cited are those for the commemoration of the Deposition of the Virgin's robe in the Oxford Menologium, f. 46, at the date of the feast, July 2, and for that of the Deposition of the girdle, f.53^v, August 31.²¹² In the former miniature, the reliquary is placed on a throne-like piece of furniture, such as may well have been used for the display of relics for veneration.²¹³ Two clerics, one holding a censer, stand to the right before a schematically represented shrine. In the latter miniature a haloed personage, holding a censer, stands before a shrine. Finally, in illustration to Psalm 94, 6: 'Come let us worship and fall down

207. Der Nersessian, *Theodore Psalter*, 47, 67, 80, fig. 212. The bishop in the Baltimore Psalter, f. 66^v, and the Kiev Psalter, f. 137, also has the features of John Chrysostom; in the latter manuscript he is named in the accompanying legend, Vzdornov, *Kiev Psalter*, 132.

208. *De cerimoniis*, ed. Vogt, I, 116–118.

209. Mijović, *Menolog*, fig. 120.

210. Sirarpie Der Nersessian, 'La fête de l'Exaltation de la Croix,' *Annuaire de l'Institut de philologie et d'histoire orientales et slaves* 10 (1950), 193–198.

211. Grabar & Manoussacs, *Skylitzès*, no. 125; see above, 151–152.

212. Hutter, *Oxford I* 2, figs. 86, 101.

213. Possibly this was the original purpose of the so-called Throne of Maximian in Ravenna.

before him', there is a veneration ceremony in the Hamilton Psalter, f. 173, in which two bishops and other clerics, all haloed, are inclined before a shrine with lighted candles standing beside it (fig. 52).

vi. *Conclusion*

The earliest recorded translations of relics to Constantinople were those of Timothy in 356 and of Andrew and Luke in 357.²¹⁴ They were deposited in the church of the Holy Apostles. It is clear, both from the accounts in chronicles and from the rare early pictures, that the Adventus of the relic was the supreme moment of the translation. Either the arrival of the relic, the *synantesis*, or the escort of the relic through the city, the *propompe*, could be represented. The Adventus was both a civic and an ecclesiastical event, so that both the emperor and the patriarch figure in the scenes, although the original model was taken from imperial imagery. The Adventus type of translation persists throughout the Byzantine epoch, to be adapted in Serbian churches for the arrival of the relics of Symeon Nemanja at Studenica.

The earliest surviving examples of other ceremonies concerned with relics are to be found in the Menologium of Basil II. In this manuscript may be found specific iconographical types for some relics. These may have been created earlier. For example the scene of the third invention of the head of John the Baptist could have originated at the date of the event in the reign of Michael III (842–867). The creation of a cycle for the Holy Face of Edessa must be later than its arrival in Constantinople in 944. The attribution of the features of Constantine VII to king Abgar in some examples would suggest a date earlier than Constantine's death in 959.²¹⁵ The reaffirmation after the Triumph of Orthodoxy of the validity of cult of the saints, accompanied by the translation of the relics of iconophile saints, notably of Nicephorus in 847,²¹⁶ may have inspired the creation of new scenes. Later the antiquarian interest of Constantine VII in relics would have also given an impetus to artists.

214. Holum & Vikan, 'Trier Ivory,' *passim*, giving references to other early translations recounted in chronicles.

215. E. von Dobschütz, *Christusbilder, Untersuchungen zur christliche Legende*, Texte und Untersuchungen 18 (Leipzig, 1899), 102–196, 158*–249*; Bornert, *Commentaires byzantins*, 207; K. Weitzmann, 'The Mandylion and Constantine Porphyrogenietos,' *Studies*, 240 ff.

216. *Syn CP*, 583; *Oratio de translatione*, Latyšev, *Menologii* (note 184), I, 230–233, *BHG*, 1337b.

The scene of the Veneration of Peter's chains may be related to a treatise *De catenis Petri*, due either to the emperor or to Symeon the Metaphrast.²¹⁷ Constantine VII also composed an *Oratio de translatione* for John Chrysostom,²¹⁸ and had the relics of Gregory of Nazianzus translated from Cappadocia to the church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople.²¹⁹

Generic iconographical types for ceremonies concerned with relics also first appear in the Menologium of Basil II. They are variants on funerary scenes. For the invention of relics personages are represented at an open sarcophagus; for translation they carry a sarcophagus, but they are not met by a reception committee; for deposition a simple burial scene was used. Later a conventional form of veneration was developed, in which the relic itself does not figure but rather a reliquary, sarcophagus or shrine.

It was unusual for more than one episode in the process from invention to veneration to be represented. This economy has analogies elsewhere in Byzantine iconography, in which the part was considered to stand for the whole. It also has parallels in the terminology used. Although there were many technical terms available, the most common words are the verb *anakomizo* or the noun *anakomide*, which, according to the context, may signify translation or equally deposition.²²⁰

Some evidence exists that in the Palaeologan period artists were more attentive to iconographical detail. Their attentiveness again has analogies in representations of other ceremonies. For relics it may be exemplified by the scenes concerned with the Virgin's girdle and mantle. Probably the earliest representations were of the Adventus type. Later a scene of veneration was substituted. Finally,

217. E. Batareikh, 'Discours inédit sur les chaînes de saint Pierre attribué à saint Jean Chrysostome,' *Chrysostomika* (Rome, 1908), 978–1005, *BHG*, 1486.

218. *Oratio de translatione*, ed. K. I. Duobouniotes, *Epistemonike Epeteris tes Theologikes Scholes* I (1926), 306–319, *BHG*, 878d; Baur, *Johannes Chrysostomus* II, 383–390.

219. *Syn CP*, 422; *Epistola Constantini VII ad S. Gregorium in translatione*, *BHG*, 727.

220. *Anakomizo* or *anakomide*: Philostorgius, *PG* 65, 481, and John Damascene, *PG* 96, 1260, for Andrew, Luke and Timothy; *Syn CP*, 583, 861, for Nicephorus and Stephen; Menologium of Basil II, *PG* 117, 249, 276, 281, 284, for Domitianus, Anastasius, John Chrysostom, Ignatius. *Metakomizo*: *Syn CP*, 412, for Timothy. *Apokomizo*: *PG* 117, 177, for Clement. *Katatithemi* or *katathesis*: *Syn CP*, 412, 422, 793, 935–936, for Timothy (compare Malalas, *PG* 97, 701), Gregory of Nazianzus, Virgin's mantle, Virgin's girdle. *Katathema*: legends, *Paris. graec.* 1938, f. 181^v, Suzdal, for Virgin's girdle or mantle. *Metatithemi*: *Syn CP*, 422, Gregory of Nazianzus. *Apothesis*: see Holum & Vikan, 'Trier Ivory,' *passim*. *Euresis*: *Syn CP*, 775, Cyrus and John; *PG* 117, 308, 325, Zachariah, head of John the Baptist.

as the scenes on the doors at Suzdal witness, the scene of veneration was adapted into one of deposition.

Adventus scenes in their developed form had a historical character. The bishops who figure in them were those who were supposed actually to have taken part. When a generic iconographical type was created, it was religious in character. The personages, usually clerics, hold tapers or censers. Sometimes bishops figured among these personages, but their presence was by no means essential.

7. The consecration of an altar

Four manuscripts of the liturgical edition of the homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus have an illustration for Homily 44, *In novam dominicam*, which does not appear elsewhere.²²¹ In three of these manuscripts, *Mosquen*. 146, f. 23^v, Turin University Library C I 6, f. 16, *Sinait*. 339, f. 42^v, the scenes are virtually identical:²²² Gregory kneels before an altar over which is a baldacchino, while a group of attendant clergy stands to one side. In the later manuscript, *Paris. graec*. 543, f. 51^v, the setting is more elaborate (fig. 50).²²³ There are side chapels, each with an altar, and to the left a compact group of bishops, one holding a book, to the right a group of deacons, one holding a thurible. Gregory himself wears a *polystaurion*. These miniatures all present the same problem: Gregory is apparently holding a white band in his hand. What is he doing with it?

The homily in question was delivered by Gregory in the sanctuary of Saint Mamas near Nazianzus on April 16, 383.²²⁴ However the only phrase in the homily to which this miniature could refer comes at the end. Gregory speaks of the 'splendid *bemata* of martyrs', followed by an allusion to Mamas.²²⁵ It does not seem, however, that he is merely venerating the relics of Mamas, for in that case he would not be holding a white band. Opinion has therefore inclined rather towards the interpretation of this miniature as a consecration scene. Unfortunately no other consecration scenes have survived. The only other miniature which might be compared with these four

221. PG 36, 608–621.

222. Galavaris, *Gregory Nazianzenus*, figs. 4, 28, 380. For this group of manuscripts, see above, 70 note 111.

223. Galavaris, *op. cit.*, fig. 452.

224. PG 36, 607–608.

225. *Ibid.*, 620–621.

is the frontispiece to the *Life of Gregory of Nazianzus* in the Paris Gregory, f. 452.²²⁶ Here, beside the sanctuary in which Gregory is being consecrated as bishop, stands a pedestal surmounted by a cross. Around the pedestal is a knotted band. Gregory was consecrated bishop of Sasima, a newly erected bishopric of which he was the first incumbent.²²⁷ Perhaps it is too ingenious to interpret the cross on a pedestal as the consecration cross of the new cathedral.

In the absence of comparative material for the iconography, it is necessary to have recourse to accounts of the ceremony of the consecration of a church. The ceremony, which was elaborate, is described by Theodore Balsamon, Nicolas Cabasilas and Symeon of Thessaloniki. It may be that, as has been suggested, Gregory is either washing the pedestal of the altar or anointing it with oil, since both actions figure in the ritual.²²⁸ Neither interpretation may be excluded. However there are slight reasons for giving preference to another interpretation: Gregory is fixing relics to the pedestal. From the earliest times the deposition of the relics of martyrs was the constitutive act in the consecration of an altar.²²⁹ Balsamon witnesses to its continued importance, as the last rite after anointing the altar with *myron*.²³⁰ Nicolas Cabasilas recounts that, after washing and anointing the altar, the bishop goes to a side-chapel, where he puts on his pontifical vestments. He then proceeds with the relics to the altar accompanied by a procession of the faithful.²³¹ This may be why, in the Paris miniature, Gregory wears a *polystavrion* and is accompanied by bishops and deacons.

A difficulty arises, because, according to Nicolas Cabasilas, the bishop deposes the relics in a reliquary and places it on the altar. However, according to Symeon of Thessaloniki, the relics of martyrs were placed under the altar.²³² As with other pictures in Byzantine art for which parallel examples cannot be adduced, no certain interpretation is possible. There remains the objection that it is not

226. Omont, *Miniatures*, 31, pl. 60.

227. Walter, 'Three Hierarchs,' 236, 240.

228. Galavaris, *op. cit.*, 38–40.

229. 'Holum & Vikan, "Trier Ivory,"' 119–120 note 36.

230. Theodore Balsamon, *Responsa ad interrogationes Marci* 38, PG 138, 989.

231. Nicolas Cabasilas, *De vita in Christo* 5, PG 150, 625–636; *La vie en Jésus-Christ*, ed. S. Broussaleux (Amay-sur-Meuse, no date), 139–148.

232. Symeon of Thessaloniki, *De sacro templo et eius consecratione* 96, *Quare reliquiae martyrum sub altari deponantur*, PG 155, 320–321; *idem*, *De sacro templo* 14, PG 155, 705.

clear why Gregory should fix the relics in place with a white band. Nevertheless, this interpretation may accord best with the reference to the *bemata* of martyrs in the homily.

8. General conclusion

The first part of this chapter discussed the iconography of rites which may be said to confer a character: coronation, marriage, baptism and ecclesiastical appointments. For each rite the scene was built up around a single significative gesture, for which, occasionally, a speaking gesture was substituted. Coronation and marriage were imperial ceremonies. The significative gesture for both was the imposition of a crown. The alternative gesture for marriage, the *dextrarum junctio*, current in antique art, was only used in one miniature. The influence of the Church on their iconography is manifest only in the setting of the scene, the representation of the officiant as a bishop, and the introduction of details from church ritual. Too few pictures exist of coronation to permit an explanation of why it was sometimes represented. On the other hand it is evident that marriage was a dynastic theme. A personage of lesser rank or a usurper marries a princess of the imperial family, thus ennobling himself or acquiring a title to rule. If bishops impose the crowns, it is because, once the Empire had become Christian, marriages were celebrated by the clergy. Although the marriage crown received a religious significance, it does not seem that this is reflected in iconography.

Baptism was an explicitly Christian rite. Its iconography may be traced back to early Christian representations of the baptism of Christ. Artists soon opted for the gesture of the imposition of a hand, since this signified the descent of the Holy Spirit upon Christ. This gesture was retained when baptism was represented as a church rite. The existing pictures are almost exclusively related to a conversion. Generally, although not always, the officiant is a bishop. With the passage of time details are introduced from church ritual: sponsors holding a cloth in which to enwrap the baptized person, and acolytes holding candles or censers.

The conferment of orders was also an explicitly Christian rite, for which the earliest pictures date from the 8th or 9th century. It is recounted in the Acts of the Apostles that hands were imposed on the seven deacons when they were ordained. It was therefore natural

that the same gesture should be used in iconography. In some early pictures two hands are imposed, but normally the ordaining bishop only uses one. The placing of a Gospel Book on the head of a candidate for the episcopacy was a regular part of the rite for the consecration of a bishop, but it only appears in two 9th-century pictures. In later pictures it seems that a speaking gesture was preferred, perhaps because it was believed that a prayer, rather than the imposition of a hand, conferred the episcopal character. Most pictures of an ordination appear in a biographical context. They mark a decisive moment in the life of a saintly bishop. However the appointment of a bishop, particularly the bishop of Constantinople, was a civil as well as a religious event. In chronicles the beginning of a pontificate might be illustrated by a scene of the bishop enthroned. The investiture of the patriarch by the emperor was also sometimes represented. When apostles consecrate a bishop, the idea of the apostolic origins of a see may be implicit, but such pictures seem to belong rather to Western tradition. Again when ordination is represented as a church rite ceremonial details may be introduced: setting the scene in a church, acclaiming the new bishop as *axios*, or the presence of members of the clergy holding censers or *rhipidia*.

In the second part of the chapter rites facilitating or celebrating the passage of the human soul to eternal life were discussed. Their iconography is not limited to a single scene built around a significant gesture. For funeral rites a scene of a procession or entombment was preferred in the early centuries. Later the antique death-bed scene was adapted into a ritual *prothesis* or lying in state. It is likely that this adaptation was first made for the Dormition of the Virgin, for which the earliest examples date from the 10th century. By the 11th century the *prothesis* was being used to illustrate the death of saintly bishops. Pictures in the Madrid Scylitzes and in later Slav art give some idea of the way in which the effigy of a dead emperor might have been represented. Ritual details were introduced into these scenes: the *aspasmos* or last kiss, incensation, burning tapers, and, from the 14th century, personages holding books inscribed with a phrase from the office of the dead. A mourning scene for Christ, the Threnos, also becomes ritualized, particularly when it was represented on the Epitaphios. When cycles were made in the Palaeologan period for the death of Christ and the Virgin, the funeral procession and entombment were brought back into use.

The iconography of the cult of relics probably dates back to the 4th or 5th century, when the bodies of the most revered

saints were translated to Constantinople. The earliest scenes are imperial in character, deriving from the Adventus, for the arrival of important relics was a major civil event. The Adventus persists throughout the Byzantine epoch; it was used in Serbia for the translation of Symeon Nemanja. New scenes were created when there was a revival of the cult of saints after the Triumph of Orthodoxy. The earliest evidence for them is to be found in the Menologium of Basil II. Artists adapted the funeral procession for the translation of a relic, and the entombment for its deposition. These were generic scenes. For some specific relics they were more inventive. New cycles were created for the Holy Face, the Head of John the Baptist, and probably for the Forty Martyrs and the miracle of Saint Clement.

In the same manuscript are found the earliest veneration scenes, for Saint Peter's Chains and for the Cross. Later, new veneration scenes would be created, notably for the relics of the Virgin. Again ritual details were incorporated into these scenes, particularly incensation.

Evidence of progressive ritualization is clear for most of these iconographical themes. Yet the importance attributed to ceremony by the Byzantine Church is not fully reflected in its art. For example, numerous processions took place during the liturgical year.²³³ However only three are represented in surviving pictures. They are all penitential, and they all occur in the Menologium of Basil II (fig. 49).²³⁴ The ceremonial veneration of an icon occurs only in the *Akathistos* cycle (fig. 57).²³⁵ The rite performed to commemorate the Triumph of Orthodoxy is represented once, in the Dionysiou Lectionary, f. 43 (fig. 46).²³⁶ Like the Exaltation of the Cross, it is set at an ambo. A cleric, standing at the top, declaims the *Synodikon*. There also exist a few scenes of the conferment of the tonsure, mostly in the Madrid Scylitzes, to mark the abdication of an emperor or empress.²³⁷

It is unlikely that the developments observed in the iconography of these rites reflect a deliberate policy on the part of the Byzantine

233. R. Janin, 'Les processions religieuses à Byzance,' *REB* 24 (1966), 69–88.

234. Menologium of Basil II, p. 65, earthquake of 447, PG 117, 72; p. 142, earthquake of 740, PG 117, 129; p. 350, earthquake of 450, PG 117, 280; Walter, 'Saint Clement,' 259–260.

235. See above, 64–65.

236. Treasures I, fig. 220.

237. Grabar & Manoussacas, *Skylitzès*, nos. 139, 177, 267, 304, 322, 496, 498. There was also a tonsure represented in the lost Smyrna *Physiologus*, see above, 75 note 265.

Church. They are symptomatic rather of sociological change. As Byzantine society became increasingly theocratic, so religious rites assumed a greater importance in public life. However, in no case do they become the focal point of an ecclesiological programme. It is otherwise for the Eucharist, around which, from the 11th century, was built up a structured imagery, proclaiming the notions which the Byzantine Church had elaborated with regard to its status and mission in the divine providential plan. The next task will be to trace the development of this eucharistic imagery and to explain its significance.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE OFFICIAL IMAGERY OF THE BYZANTINE CHURCH

The Byzantine Church inherited from the Roman Empire an awareness that art was a useful medium for propaganda. Art was exploited to this end most particularly in monumental painting. This is not surprising, given that the church was a public building. The Constantinian basilica was horizontally orientated, culminating in the triumphal arch and the apse. It retained the political character of Roman basilicas, separating the governed in the nave from the governors in the apse. Functionally, the apse, corresponding to the earlier tribune, was well adapted to the performance of ceremonies and the execution of acts of government.¹ There the bishop was enthroned, presiding over the clergy on their *synthronon*. The *Didascalia* refers to him as *rex vester potens*.² However the same text recalls that the bishop was a subordinate: *hic locum Dei sequens . . . Quoniam episcopus in typum Dei praesedet vos*. There was, indeed, no doubt for Christians that their real king was Christ. The body of the church, the nave, was available for the general run of the faithful, who could also congregate outside in the portico or narthex.

When it became the practice to erect a cupola over the nave, the church also acquired a vertical orientation. Whatever its structural advantages as an architectural form, the cupola was imbued with symbolism.

In both the pagan and Christian worlds, the manifold visions of the dome of heaven, with their symbolism in canopies, figures and structural forms, with the projections of heaven on ceilings, often

1. A. M. Schneider, 'Apsis,' *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum* I, 571; Ch. Delvoye, 'Apsis,' *RBK* I, 268–293.

2. *Didascalia apostolorum*, 25, ed. E. Tidner (Berlin, 1963), 41–42.

coupled with an actual or supposed opening in the sky, all reflect the basic experience of man in visualizing the physical as well as the transcendental celestial realm.³

The importance of function in determining the choice of subjects for church decoration is already clear in the celebrated letter of Nilus to the prefect Olympiodorus.⁴ The Cross of the triumphant Christ should adorn the apse, 'for it is by virtue of the one salutary cross that humankind is being saved,' while in the nave should be pictures from the Old and New Testaments, 'executed by an excellent painter, so that the illiterate ... may be roused to emulate those glorious and celebrated feats.' Thus the central theme of apse decoration was the office of Christ in the universe which he had created, while, for the nave, themes were chosen which would instruct or edify the faithful. The importance of symbolism is more evident in the vertical axis of the church. The cupola or dome lent itself to the development of a hierarchical programme.⁵ It was the place where heaven and earth met, characterized by both an upward and a downward movement. 'It seems to me,' wrote Nicolas Mesarites, 'that (the dome) calls towards it the heavenly God-Man, to come down again on all the sons of men.'⁶ In due course echelons of the heavenly court were disposed hierarchically, descending from the cupola: angels, prophets, evangelists, apostles and other saints. The fully developed Byzantine church was explicitly conceived as a microcosm of the Church Triumphant.⁷ When Antony of Novgorod attended the liturgy in the church in the Golden Palace, he believed himself to be in heaven or in paradise, an analogy which found favour in the mystagogical commentaries.⁸

Within the overall development of Byzantine church decorative programmes, two distinct but related trends will be discussed in the present chapter. The first is the emergence within the hierarchy of saints of a distinct echelon of saintly bishops, which, over the

3. K. Lehmann, 'The Dome of Heaven,' *Art Bull* 17 (1945), 27.

4. PG 79, 577-580; Mango, *Art*, 32-33.

5. Elsa Giordani, 'Das mittelbyzantinische Ausschmückungssystem als Ausdruck eines hieratischen Bildprogramms,' *JÖB* 1 (1951), 103-134.

6. Mesarites, *Holy Apostles*, ed. Heisenberg, 27; ed. Downey, 869.

7. Ch. Walter, 'L'Eglise dans les programmes monumentaux de l'art byzantin,' *Eglise dans la liturgie*, 325-334.

8. 'The Pilgrim Book of Antony, Archbishop of Novgorod,' ed. H. M. Loparev, *Pravoslavnyj Palestinskij Sbornik* 51 (1899), 20-21; Bornert, *Commentaires byzantins*, 176-180.

centuries, occupies an ever larger space. The other is the modification of apse programmes such that, while Christ continues to occupy the central place, he ceases to be present as universal emperor, becoming rather the universal patriarch. There are obvious symptoms of this change before it becomes explicit. Scenes concerned with government, once represented in the apse, are relegated to the narthex. From the 11th century, Eucharistic scenes figure regularly in the apse. However the full implications only become clear at the end of the Byzantine epoch, when Christ is represented wearing the patriarchal *sakkos*.

That the two trends are related is clear, because, first, the echelon of bishops is moved into the apse, and, secondly, the bishops also are represented celebrating the liturgy. Once the Church Triumphant has been conceived as a hierarchy of liturgical celebrations, the influence of these trends may be observed not only in the two chapels to either side of the central apse but also in the cupola. Outside monumental painting, it is most marked in the choice of scenes for liturgical rolls.

In the first part of this chapter, the origins and development of the echelon of saintly bishops will be traced. The second part deals with the modification of apse programmes up to the 11th century, when the Communion of the Apostles acquires a permanent place in them. In the third part developments in apse programmes during the last centuries of the Byzantine epoch are discussed, with particular reference to the multiplication of Eucharistic scenes.

THE ECHELON OF SAINTLY BISHOPS

An autocratic society derives its cohesion from a structure of ranks and classes. Both the Byzantine court and Church were autocratic. Each had its elaborate system of precedence, elaborated in *taxiarcheis* and bishops' lists.⁹ Heaven was conceived in the image of human society, with its own hierarchical structure. The exposition of the hierarchies attributed to Dionysius the Areopagite, even if little read, nevertheless permanently marked the Byzantine conception of heaven. The hierarchy of the celestial court is reflected in pictures of the Last Judgment or of Praising the Lord, in which the just are

9. N. Oikonomidès, *Les listes de préséance byzantines des 9^e et 10^e siècles* (Paris, 1972); Darrouzès, *Offikia*.

divided into choirs (fig. 17).¹⁰ However, it is most evident in the disposition of saints in church decoration.

In Byzantine society no more than in any other autocracy was the class system rigid and immutable. New ranks were created, and, within the established hierarchy, one social group—the military or the nobility—could at different periods be more influential than another. The same phenomena may be observed in the celestial court. At the beginning of the Byzantine epoch, the lowest rank in the hierarchy of saints was that of the martyrs. In due course the martyrs were subdivided according to their status in life. A new class of saints was then created, the *homologetoi* or confessors, consisting of those who had merited a place in heaven not by martyrdom but by their signal practice of the Christian virtues. Yet another change occurred when saintly bishops were admitted to constitute a rank of celestial society in their own right. Change did not end there, for this new rank acquired in the course of centuries a higher place in the hierarchy of saints. Bishops were esteemed above martyrs and other saints, taking second place only to the apostles. This development must now be traced and explained.

1. Before the triumph of orthodoxy

Echelons or series of portraits were more ancient than the Christian hierarchies. They could take the form of a group of philosophers around their master—the model for Christ teaching his disciples—or of series of statues of philosophers.¹¹ *Clipeus* portraits of gods decorated the Heroon of Calydon,¹² others of ancestors the Basilica Emiliana,¹³ yet others of administrative officials a building at Dura Europos.¹⁴ Probably the earliest series of Christian *clipeus* portraits

10. Chrysanthos Mauropoulos-Tsioumes, 'Observations on the "Heavenly Jerusalem" in manuscript 762 of the Monastery of Vatopedi' (in Greek), *Kleronomia* 6 (1974), 105–112.

11. A. Grabar, 'Le portrait en iconographie paléochrétienne,' *Antiquité et Moyen Age*, 592. The authenticity of the earliest accounts of Christian portraits is doubtful, J. Breckenridge, 'Apocrypha of Early Christian Portraiture,' *BZ* 67 (1974), 101–109.

12. E. Dyggve, *Das Heroon von Kalydon* (Copenhagen, 1934).

13. See the reproduction of the Basilica on a coin in the British Museum, dating from about 60 BC, H. A. Grueber, *Coins of the Roman Republic in the British Museum* (London, 1910), no. 3651; G. Fuchs, 'Zur Baugeschichte der Basilica Aemilia in republikanischer Zeit,' *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Institut, römische Abteilung* 63 (1956), 19–20, pl. 8.

14. Three clipeate portraits in the House of the Roman scribes, dating from the middle of the 3rd century AD, *The Excavations of Dura Europos*, Preliminary report of sixth session of work, ed. M. I. Rostovtzeff, etc. (New Haven, 1936), 297, pl. 45, ii, iii, iv.

were made for the apostles, whose teaching and governmental office was at the foundation of the Church.¹⁵ Such a series is known from the 4th century on an ivory coffer at Brescia.¹⁶ It has been suggested that there was another such series in the mausoleum of Constantine, which served as a model for those in apostolic canon tables.¹⁷ The fact that the church of the Holy Apostles at Kars, which presumably depends on a Constantinopolitan model, has a series of portraits of apostles around the drum of the cupola renders this hypothesis plausible.¹⁸ An echelon of apostles enters early into Byzantine church decoration: possibly already in the nave of Sant'Apollinare Nuovo, Ravenna;¹⁹ certainly, in the form of *clipei*, at the entrance to the sanctuary of San Vitale;²⁰ regularly after the Triumph of Orthodoxy both in monumental painting and on liturgical objects.

Bishops first appear as forming part of the echelon of martyrs and confessors. The practice continued in Rome when churches dedicated to martyrs were built or restored. Three bishops—Domnus, Maurus and Venantius, together with the popes John IV (640–642) and Theodore (642–649), figure in the chapel of Saint Venantius, built to receive the relics of the Dalmatian martyrs.²¹ When Gregory III (731–741) restored the church of Saint Chrysogonus, he included clipeate portraits of Sixtus II and Agapetus in the decorative programme.²²

The occasional practice of representing all the bishops of the same see as a testimony of apostolic succession has points in common with the antique cult of ancestors. The portraits of popes in Saint Paul outside the walls are disposed on the architrave in a way which

15. A number of important studies of the *clipeus* portrait have appeared in recent years: A. Grabar, 'L' *imago clipeata* chrétienne,' *Antiquité et Moyen Age*, 607–613; R. Winkes, *Clipeata imago* (Bonn, 1969); M. Lechner, 'Imago clipeata,' *RBK* III, 353–369. However, it does not seem that the *clipeus* has a special significance in the iconography of bishops.

16. J. Kollwitz, *Die Lipsanothek von Brescia* (Berlin, 1933); Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten*, no. 110; R. Delbrueck, *Probleme der Lipsanothek in Brescia* (Bonn, 1952), 37–39.

17. C. Nordenfalk, 'The Apostolic Canon Tables,' *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 62 (1963), 29–32.

18. J. M. Thierry, *La cathédrale des Saints-Apôtres de Kars* (Paris/Louvain, 1978), 47. The relationship could not, however, be direct, for, by the date of the building of the church at Kars (930–943), the original mausoleum at Constantinople had long since been demolished.

19. Deichmann, *Frühchristliche Bauten*, pls. 98–107; *idem*, *Ravenna Hauptstadt* II 1, 152–158.

20. Deichmann, *Frühchristliche Bauten*, pl. 297, 301, 311; *idem*, *Ravenna Hauptstadt* II 2, 147–148.

21. Ihm, *Apsismalerei*, 144–145.

22. M. Mesnard, *La basilique de Saint-Chrysogone à Rome* (Vatican, 1935), 110, fig. 47; B. M. Apollonj Ghetti, *San Crisogono* (Rome, 1966), 45, fig. 16.

recalls the *clipei* in the Basilica Emiliana.²³ Another example is perhaps provided by the effigies of bishops of Naples over their tombs in the Stephanian.²⁴ It is not clear what principle was followed in the selection of bishops of Ravenna—Severus, Ursus, Ecclesius and Ursicinus—who were portrayed in the martyrdom of Apollinaris, the founder of that see. It has been suggested that they had a special devotion to the founder.²⁵ On the other hand, all the bishops' portraits in Saint Demetrius, Thessaloniki, are *ex votos*.²⁶ Interest in apostolic succession developed later in the East.²⁷ The only possible early example would be the portraits of Metrophanes, Alexander and Paul, which, according to the *Parastaseis*, were set up by Constantine in the Forum of Constantinople.²⁸

The story, even if apocryphal, that these portraits in Constantinople were destroyed by the Arians, together with an image of the Virgin and Child, recalls incidents recounted during the later period of Christological controversies. At that time it was the practice to inscribe on diptychs the names of those to be commemorated during the liturgy, including both dead and living orthodox bishops.²⁹ For example the name of John Chrysostom was inscribed on the diptychs soon after his death, in spite of the ignominious way in which his episcopate ended.³⁰ This practice was accompanied by the exposure of portraits of orthodox bishops, again both dead and living. However the evidence for this practice comes uniquely from accounts of the *damnatio memoriae* of bishops. John Damascene cited three examples from the lost *Historia Tripartita* of Theodore Lector:³¹ the portrait of the Arian

23. G. Ladner, *I ritratti dei papi nell'antichità e nel medioevo* I (Vatican, 1941), 38–59. Portraits of pope Xystus, together with bishops Optatus and Cyprian and pope Cornelius, were painted at the tomb of the last-named, probably about 650, L. Reekmans, *La tombe du pape Corneille et sa région cémétériale* (Vatican, 1964), 174–184, fig. 68.

24. John the Deacon, *Chronicon episcoporum sanctae neapolitanae ecclesiae, Rerum italicarum scriptores*, ed. L. A. Muratori (Milan, 1725), I ii, 315. This series of portraits may have replaced an earlier one in another cemetery, M. Sarto, *De veteri casula diptycha* (Faenza, 1753), 15.

25. Deichmann, *Ravenna Hauptstadt* I, 123–125; II ii, 268–269.

26. See above, 80 note 275.

27. F. Dvornik, *The Idea of Apostolicity in Byzantium* (Cambridge, Mass., 1958).

28. Mango, *Art*, 16. But if the text of the *Parastaseis* was composed after 741, then the portraits would have ceased to exist four centuries before it was written.

29. E. Bishop, 'Observations on the liturgy of Narsai,' Appendix to *The Liturgical Homilies of Narsai*, ed. R. H. Connolly, *Texts and Studies* 8 i (Cambridge, 1916), 97–117.

30. Baur, *Johannes Chrysostomus* II, 372–383.

31. John Damascene, *De imaginibus, Oratio* 3, PG 94, 1397, 1399.

bishop Macedonius had to be removed from the church before the liturgy was celebrated; the heretic bishop Palladius of Antioch ordered the portraits of the Fathers of Chalcedon to be taken down. The third reference is rather longer:

An old man, in the presence of the pictures of Flavian and Anatolius, priests and former archbishops of Constantinople, those by whom the synod of Chalcedon had been put into force, cried out: 'If you will not accept the free decrees of the holy synod, take down and anathematize the pictures of the bishops and remove them from the venerable diptychs.'

John of Ephesus tells how John III Scholasticus, appointed by Justinian in 565 to enforce the Aphthartodocetist Edict, removed the pictures of all the orthodox fathers, exposing his own everywhere in their place.³² When his predecessor, Eutychius, who had been forced to resign, returned to the patriarchate after John III's death in 577, he removed the latter's portrait and exposed his own in the churches.

A final example occurs in Agathon's account of the second council of Constantinople (680).³³ Five Monothelite bishops—Cyrus, Sergius, Pyrrhus, Paul and Peter—were condemned. Their names were removed from the diptychs, and their portraits, whether in churches or public places, were taken down.

No later evidence is available as to the practice of displaying portraits of orthodox bishops, except in the form of ecumenical councils.³⁴ Possibly these succeed the earlier individual portraits of orthodox bishops. There is an obvious similarity between council imagery—group portraits of the bishops who guaranteed the doctrinal integrity of the Church—and those mentioned in the literary sources quoted above, in that, in each case, it was his orthodoxy which merited for a bishop the honour of having his portrait displayed.

The development of council imagery suggests that when bishops begin to be distinguished as constituting a category of saints, it was as defenders of orthodox doctrine. Four bishops, whose writings were cited against the Monothelites, were represented after the

³² John of Ephesus, *Historia Ecclesiastica* III 3 36, ed. E. W. Brooks (Louvain 1952), 32; J. Kollwitz, 'Zur Frühgeschichte der Bilderverehrung,' *Römische Quartalschrift* 48 (1953), 1–20; E. Stein, *Histoire du Bas-Empire* II (Paris/Brussels, 1949); 654–681; Marlia Mundell, 'Monophysite church decoration,' *Iconoclasm*, 72.

³³ *Liber pontificalis* I, 354, 356 note 13.

³⁴ Walter, *Conciles*, 20–25.

Lateran synod of 649 in the apse of Santa Maria Antiqua: Leo I, Gregory of Nazianzus, John Chrysostom and Basil.³⁵ Each holds a scroll inscribed with a passage from his writings. In the same church, there is a group portrait of Latin and Greek doctors to the left and right of Christ.³⁶

Thus, in Rome at least, there survives evidence from the pre-Iconoclast period of the pictorial representation of bishops exercising their doctrinal role. In Ravenna and Thessaloniki portraits survive of bishops holding a book. This attribute was taken over from the Apostles. In the same way, the iconographical type of the council is modelled on that of Christ and the Apostles. Later evidence can be cited in favour of the view that the informing idea of the echelon of bishops is, like that of councils, their doctrinal office. Sometimes the commemoration of a council was illustrated with a group portrait of bishops, some identifiable from their facial features, who had no necessary connection with the council concerned.³⁷

2. The 9th and 10th centuries

It is generally agreed that the Triumph of Orthodoxy inaugurated a conservative movement in art, which sought its inspiration in the surviving monuments of the pre-Iconoclast period.³⁸ The descriptions of two buildings decorated in Michael III's reign (842–867), one a church and the other a throne-room, suggest that, if innovations were introduced, they were inspired by triumphalism. In the church of the Virgin of the Pharos, within the palace precincts, the Virgin presided in the apse, surrounded by apostles, martyrs,

35. W. de Gruneisen, *Sainte-Marie-Antique* (Rome, 1911), 439–440; Eva Tea, *La basilica di Santa Maria Antiqua* (Milan, 1937), 61–62, 217–219, 300 fig. 25, 311–313; P. J. Nordhagen, 'The Earliest Decorations in Santa Maria Antiqua,' *Acta* 1 (1962), 58–61, pls. 2–3.

36. Tea, *op. cit.*, 271–280, dating the painting to the second half of the 8th century. Latin fathers: Clement, Sylvester, Abondius, Euthymius, Sabbas, Sergius, Gregory, Bacchus. Greek fathers: John Chrysostom, Gregory (of Nazianzus?), Basil, Peter of Alexandria, Cyril of Alexandria, Epiphanius, Athanasius, Nicolas, Erasmus.

37. K. Weitzmann, 'The Constantinopolitan Lectionary Morgan 639,' *Festschrift Greene*, 372, reprinted *Liturgical Psalter and Gospels*.

38. A. Frolov, 'La renaissance de l'art byzantin au 9^e siècle et son origine,' *Corsi di cultura* 9 (1962), 269–293; R. Cormack, 'Painting after Iconoclasm,' *Iconoclasm*, 147–163; Mango, *Art*, 181.

prophets and patriarchs.³⁹ It is likely that the last word refers not to bishops but to Old Testament personages. The language used about the Chrysotriclinus is distinctly political in tone: 'Christ, enthroned, confounds murky heresies; angels, apostles, martyrs and priests (*thuepoloi*) figure as guardians around the building.'⁴⁰ Since the categories of personages descend in hierarchical order, the last could be bishops, the more so that the same text records that Michael III and Photius were represented nearby. The whole programme is presented as a celebration of the Triumph of Orthodoxy.

The literary sources for the reign of Basil I (867–886) give no information about the possible presence of bishops in church programmes. However, two mosaics in which bishops figure have survived from his time. The room over the vestibule, decorated soon after 870, formed part of the patriarchate, although it was not a church.⁴¹ The Deësis programme, which, from the choice of saints, would be 'visionary' rather than 'intercessory', includes four bishops who were Iconophile heroes: Germanus, Tarasius, Methodius and Nicephorus. This, too, is a celebration of the Triumph of Orthodoxy, although ecclesiastical rather than imperial in its inspiration.

The other mosaic in Saint Sophia provides the first example in Byzantine church decoration of an echelon of bishops.⁴² Situated on the north and south walls of the nave, it entered into a hierarchical programme, with angels, patriarchs, prophets, and apostles or evangelists. Three portraits have survived—John Chrysostom, Ignatius of Antioch and Ignatius of Constantinople, with traces of that of Athanasius. Of the others—there were once fourteen in all—nine are known from drawings by Loos, Fossati and Salzenburg.⁴³ Exhaustive research has revealed no overriding criterion for the choice of bishops, although, individually, the presence of each one can be explained. Some are the great doctors who later recur

39. C. Mango, *The Homilies of Photius* (Cambridge, Mass., 1958), 187–188; *idem*, *Art*, 185; R. J. H. Jenkins & C. Mango, 'The Date and Significance of the Tenth Homily of Photius,' *DOP* 9–10 (1956), 123–140. Sirarpie Der Nersessian, 'Le décor des églises au 9^e siècle,' *Etudes byzantines et arméniennes* (Louvain, 1973), 37, understands the word patriarch as bishop.

40. *Epigrammatum Anthologia Palatina* I 106, ed. F. Dubner (Paris, 1864), I 12; Mango, *Art*, 184.

41. Cormack & Hawkins, 'Rooms above the Vestibule,' 175–261. There was a further unidentifiable bishop, *ibid.*, 231.

42. Mango & Hawkins, 'Church Fathers,' 3–41.

43. C. Mango, *Materials for the Study of the Mosaics of St. Sophia at Istanbul* (Washington D.C., 1962).

regularly: Basil, Gregory of Nazianzus, John Chrysostom, Dionysius the Areopagite, Cyril and Athanasius of Alexandria. Gregory the Wonderworker and Nicolas of Myra also recur regularly, as miracle workers. Anthimus of Nicomedia was a popular martyr, as was Ignatius of Antioch, in whose company figures the recently canonized Ignatius of Constantinople. Methodius, for whom Photius had great reverence, is the only Iconophile hero. Finally, there was Gregory of Greater Armenia.

A letter addressed to the catholicus Zacharias of Armenia—and attributed rightly or wrongly to Photius—averts that all the Fathers of the Church came from Greek lands and found a resting place in Constantinople.⁴⁴ It contains a list of names of 'Greek' bishops, which does not exactly correspond to those represented in Saint Sophia but nevertheless includes Gregory of Greater Armenia. It is therefore possible that the echelon of bishops, as was appropriate to the policy of expansion and evangelization which characterized Basil I's reign, celebrates the glorious role of the Byzantine Church in bringing light to the Gentiles.

Two churches decorated during the reign of Leo VI (886–912) and described by him in homilies were commissioned respectively by Stylianus Magister (after 886) and by Antony II Cauleas (893–910).⁴⁵ Both have programmes centred on the majesty of Christ 'overseer and governor of the universe'. In the latter the programme was hierarchically disposed, including angels, 'messengers of God's communication to men', prophets 'who foresaw from afar', and those who took part in the events 'enacted for the salvation of the world'. These last are named 'kings and priests'. This expression is open to interpretation. The next order in the hierarchy was the apostles. It is therefore likely that 'kings and priests' is a hyperbolic expression for them, modelled on the 'royal priesthood' of I Peter 2,9.⁴⁶

44. Letter of Photius to the Catholicos Zacharias, ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Pravoslavnyj Palestinskij Sbornik* 31, 392, *Regestes*, no. 477; Dvornik, *The Idea of Apostolicity* (note 27), 241–242; Sirarpie Der Nersessian, 'Les portraits de Grégoire l'Illuminateur dans l'art byzantin,' *Byz* 36 (1967), 386–395; Mango & Hawkins, 'Church Fathers,' 38–39.

45. Leo the Wise, *Homily* 24, ed. Akakios Hieromonachos, *Panegyrics of Leo the Wise* (Athens, 1868), 276–277; Mango, *Art*, 202–205; A. Frolov, 'Deux églises byzantines d'après des sermons peu connus de Léon VI le Sage,' *Études byzantines* 3 (1945), 43–91.

46. It would be soliciting the text to identify the kings as Constantine and Helena and the priests as Iconophile bishops. Mango, *Art*, 204 note 107, suggests that there is a confusion in the text.

The literary sources provide little information about church decoration in 10th-century Constantinople. They cannot be cited in favour of the concept of a 'Macedonian Renaissance' at that time.⁴⁷ The most significant dated church is the cathedral of Ishkhani (Ishan) in Georgia, painted earlier than 966.⁴⁸ A series of portraits of bishops is painted below an apocalyptic representation of Christ. This is the earliest example of their installation as an echelon in the sanctuary of a church which was definitely a public building. They had, however, already invaded the apse of the principal chapel at Ayvalı kilise, Cappadocia, dated 913–920. They also figure as an echelon in the apse of other 10th-century churches in Cappadocia, although generally they accompany other saints, already revered as 'visionaries'.⁴⁹

Churches in Cappadocia were in all likelihood private commissions. They were votive buildings, in which monks would pray for the welfare of the patron. In consequence, the notion of intercession played an important part in determining the choice of saints to be represented. Their variety suggests that the patron made the choice himself. In the detail, if not in the overall programmes of these churches, there is evidence of considerable liberty. However, the saints are all taken from the Synaxary and often hierarchically disposed. An overall impression may be formed of the 10th-century as a period when little public church-building or decoration was undertaken, and that, in consequence, there was no motive for renewing the structure of decorative programmes. The tone of the period was set by the antiquarian researches commissioned by Constantine VII: the revision of the Lives of the Saints, and the illustration of the Synaxary.⁵⁰

3. The 11th century

In three dated 11th-century churches the Communion of the Apostles figures in the apse. This is a sign that the decorative

47. Mango, *Art*, 182.

48. Nicole & M. Thierry, 'Peintures du 10^e siècle en Géorgie méridionale et leurs rapports avec la peinture byzantine d'Asie Mineure,' *CA* 24 (1975), 88, reprinted *Peintures*; Lazarev, *Pittura bizantina*, 168, 183 note 134.

49. See appendix: 10th-century Churches in Cappadocia, 225ff. below.

50. Such work consisted largely in compilation. If the model for the Menologium of Basil II was commissioned by the author of the *De cerimoniis* it is not surprising that the majority of the new scenes are rites concerned with relics.

programme is taking on a specifically liturgical character. However, in each of these churches, the portraits of bishops are frontal; consequently their iconography has not yet been modified so as to give their presence a new significance.

The earliest, the Panagia Chalkeon, Thessaloniki, is dated by a marble tablet over the entrance to 1028. Four bishops—Gregory of Armenia, Gregory of Nyssa, Gregory the Wonderworker and Gregory of Agrigentum—are placed directly below the Virgin Orans.⁵¹

The church of Saint Sophia, Kiev (1042–1046) is a much more sumptuous building.⁵² The hierarchical disposition is lucid, with angels around the bust of Christ in the cupola, apostles below them, and prophets in the spandrels of the arches. At a lower level, in the sanctuary, bishops are accompanied by the two deacons Stephen and Laurence, a hint that their presence is associated with the liturgy. They are Gregory of Nazianzus, Nicolas of Myra, Basil of Caesarea, John Chrysostom, Gregory of Nyssa, Gregory the Wonderworker, Epiphanius of Trimithus and Clement of Rome.

This modest number of bishops contrasts with the panoply in Saint Sophia, Ohrid (1037–1056).⁵³ Here the centre of the lower apse wall is occupied by six eminent saintly bishops: Gregory the Wonderworker, Gregory of Nazianzus, John Chrysostom, Basil of Caesarea, Athanasius of Alexandria and Nicolas of Myra. The series continues along the walls and into the prothesis and diaconicon. Nearly fifty portraits survive, some full-length, some presented in imitation of icons or panel portraits (fig. 54). While many saintly bishops occupied minor sees, prominence is given to those who occupied the five patriarchal sees. At least six are Roman pontiffs, of whom the latest in date is Gregory Dialogus.

Thus in Saint Sophia, Ohrid, the Church is presented as a Pentarchy. Primacy of honour falls to Constantinople, for not only are its saintly bishops most numerous but also they are placed in the central apse. Such a presentation is unique in surviving monuments.

51. Lazarev, *Pittura bizantina*, 157–158, 179 note 88; Karoline Papadopoulos, *Die Wandmalerei des XI. Jahrhunderts in der Kirche Panagia Chalkeon in Thessaloniki* (Graz/Cologne, 1966), 26–35.

52. Lazarev, *Pittura bizantina*, 152–153, 178 note 83; *idem*, *Old Russian Murals*, 42, 227–229; *idem*, *Mosaics of Sophia of Kiev* (in Russian), (Moscow, 1960), 110–120; G. Logvin, *Kiev's Hagia Sophia* (Kiev, 1971).

53. Lazarev, *Pittura bizantina*, 158–159, 179 note 90; Radojčić, 'Prilozi'; Hamman-MacLean & Hallensleben, *Monumentalmalerei*, plan 1, figs. 4, 5, 19; Djurić, *Vizantijske Freske*, 9–11, 197 note 3.

However it is not the only unique element in the apse programme of this church, as will be seen later. The choice of bishops may be explained by the special status of Ohrid, a see which claimed to be Justiniana Prima with the privilege of autocephaly.⁵⁴ It had recently been brought back into the Byzantine sphere of influence, and Leo, the reigning bishop at the time when Saint Sophia was decorated, was himself a Greek.

The three 11th-century churches with mosaic decorations in Greece, the Nea Moni, Hosios Loukas and Daphni, offer little help in a study of the echelon of bishops.⁵⁵ The Nea Moni, which can be dated 1042–1056 by reason of its associations with Constantine Monomachus, has entirely lost the lower part of its apse mosaics.⁵⁶ For Hosios Loukas and Daphni, whose mosaics have also suffered, there is no objective evidence to date them.

Numerous saintly bishops figure in the apse and side-chapels of Hosios Loukas, which is generally placed earlier than the Nea Moni.⁵⁷ However, the four most venerated bishops, John Chrysostom and Basil with the two wonderworkers Nicolas and Gregory, are placed in niches under the central dome. Such a place is more consonant with their cult than with their liturgical office. Some saintly bishops have survived in the side-chapels at Daphni: Sylvester of Rome and Anthimus of Nicomedia in the prothesis, along with John the Baptist, Aaron and Zachariah; Nicolas of Myra, Gregory the Wonderworker, Gregory of Agrigentum, Eleutherius of Illyricum and Abercius of Hieropolis in the diaconicon. It may be supposed that Basil, John Chrysostom and Gregory of Nazianzus were once represented in the central apse.⁵⁸

54. A. Grabar, 'Deux témoignages sur l'autocéphalie d'une église: Prespa et Ohrid,' *ZRV* 8 ii (1964), 166–168; R. Ljubinković, 'L'Illyricum et la question romaine (autour de l'Eglise autocéphale de l'Etat de Samuel),' *La chiesa greca in Italia dall'8 al 16 secolo* (Padua, 1973), 927–969.

55. O. Demus, *Byzantine Mosaic Decoration* (reprinted New Rochelle, 1976).

56. Lazarev, *Pittura bizantina*, 150–151, 178 note 80; J. Strzygowski, 'Nea Moni auf Chios,' *BZ* 5 (1896), 140–157; D. I. Pallas, 'Chios,' *RBK* I, 954. The church is mentioned in a chrysobull of Constantine Monomachus, dated 1044.

57. Lazarev, *Pittura bizantina*, 151–153, 178 note 81, who proposes the beginning of the 11th century; Diez & Demus, *Byzantine Mosaics*; Karoline Kreidl-Papadopoulos, 'Hosios Loukas,' *RBK* III, 284–295, proposes the second quarter of the 11th century, and refers to the 'ausserordentliche Schwierigkeit dieses Problemkreises.'

58. Lazarev, *Pittura bizantina*, 194–198, 254 note 53, dating the mosaics to the second half of the 11th century; Diez & Demus, *Byzantine Mosaics*; D. I. Pallas, 'Daphni,' *RBK* I, 1132, also prefers a later date. A. Frolov's arguments in favour of the beginning of the century, 'La date des mosaïques de Daphni,' *Corsi di cultura* 9 (1962), 295–299, are not convincing.

Since the emplacement of bishops in the nave recalls some 10th-century Cappadocian churches, an early 11th-century date is reasonable for Hosios Loukas. At Daphni, however, saintly deacons have been introduced, and are placed before the side-chapels, a detail which would be favorable to dating the church as about contemporary with Saint Sophia, Kiev.

4. Conclusion

Echelons of saints derive from antique models, groups of philosophers, ancestors, or government officials. The first echelons of saints to be created in Christian art were apostles, and martyrs or confessors. Bishops appear in series as the 'ancestors' of the local Church at Rome, Ravenna and Naples. They also figure among the martyrs. Their constitution into a specific echelon of saints derives from their doctrinal function as defenders of orthodoxy. Series of portraits existed of the bishops of other sees with which a local Church was in communion. Their role in councils enhanced their status, such that group portraits of councils of bishops followed on from group portraits of the college of apostles. Groups of bishops exercising their doctrinal function have survived in Rome from the pre-Iconoclast period. The earliest Byzantine example of an echelon of bishops is the mosaic in Saint Sophia, Constantinople, where they occupy a place in the hierarchy of the celestial court.

In the 9th century, the list of saints receiving cult in the Church of Constantinople was stabilized. At the same period, the echelon of bishops passes into the apse, possibly because this was the most appropriate place for them, although the apse decorative programmes had not yet taken on a specifically liturgical character. When this happened in the 11th century, the place of bishops in the apse was assured.

A variety of criteria could be applied for the choice of the bishops represented: local or Constantinopolitan cult, the evangelical mission of the Greek Church, the ecclesiology of the Pentarchy. However, it is already clear at Saint Sophia, Ohrid, that the most eminent bishops were the Three Hierarchs. Next in order of preference follow Nicolas of Myra, Cyril and Athanasius of Alexandria, Gregory the Wonderworker and the other Gregories.

THE ENTRY OF LITURGICAL THEMES INTO APSE PROGRAMMES

Whereas official imagery in the Byzantine State was focussed on the emperor, in the Byzantine Church it was focussed not on the patriarch and bishops but on the person of Christ, the celestial Head. In apse programmes the central subject could be Christ's trophy, the Cross.⁵⁹ It could also be the *Traditio legis*, a scene of Christ conferring their doctrinal and governmental mission on the apostles.⁶⁰ This might be situated in a terrestrial landscape, as at Sant'Aquilino, Milan,⁶¹ or in the New Jerusalem, as at Santa Pudenziana, Rome,⁶² most often it was placed in Paradise. However, artists were also intent to affirm that Christ was accessible to his creatures. Epiphanies play an important role in early Christian art, perhaps to lend veridicity to the tradition that Christ had revealed himself to Constantine before the Battle of the Milvian Bridge.⁶³

The accessibility of Christ to his creatures remains a dominant theme of apse decoration throughout the Byzantine epoch. It is in this context that themes in which the liturgy is latent or explicit have to be considered. Christ incarnate had been seen and acknowledged as divine by his family and the apostles. He had revealed himself before the Incarnation to the prophets, and after his Ascension to the martyrs. In heaven he was permanently visible to the angels and saints. All would see him at his Second Coming. Christ was also accessible, under the form of the consecrated bread and wine, in the Eucharist. However, although the Communion of the Apostles was represented in pre-Iconoclast art, there is no evidence of its figuring in apse programmes before the 11th century—a delay which requires some explanation.

Christ was not only accessible, but he could also be moved

59. Ihm, *Apsismalerei*, 76–94, 184–185. The surviving crosses in Byzantine apses are probably the work of Iconoclast artists, R. Cormack, 'The Arts during the Age of Iconoclasm,' *Iconoclasm*, 35–36.

60. Walter, 'Papal Political Imagery,' *CA* 20 (1970), 70–76.

61. Ihm, *Apsismalerei*, 158–159, fig. 1; A. Calderini, etc., *La basilica di S. Lorenzo Maggiore in Milano* (Milan, 1952), 202–210.

62. Ihm, *op. cit.*, 130–132, fig. 3.

63. It was necessary to counteract the less edifying account of Constantine's conversion circulated by upholders of pagan tradition. See, for example, Zosimus, *Historia* II 29, *Histoire nouvelle*, ed. F. Paschoud (Paris, 1971), 101–102.

favorably in regard of human creatures. It is in scenes in which creatures attempt to move him that liturgical themes are latent. In the present section scenes of donation and adoration will be considered first; then scenes of intercession. After that, the iconography of the Last Supper and the Communion of Apostles will be discussed, followed by liturgical development in apse programmes in the 9th and 10th centuries. Finally the 11th-century apse programmes at Saint Sophia, Kiev, and Saint Sophia, Ohrid, will be further analysed.

5. Donation and adoration

Some themes of donation are probably adaptations of imperial ceremonies. This would seem to be the case when the martyrs who are the patron saints of the churches of Saint Theodore and Saints Cosmas and Damian in Rome offer their crowns to Christ.⁶⁴ It would also be the case when the donor offers a model of the church to Christ in the Euphrasian basilica at Poreč,⁶⁵ in San Vitale at Ravenna,⁶⁶ and in a number of Roman churches.⁶⁷ An imperial picture might also have served as a model for scenes of adoration. Normally angels adore the cross.⁶⁸ The picture which is fullest in connotations is that which once existed in the church of the Dormition, Nicaea, in which angels, in imperial costume stand to left and right of a Hetoimasia. They hold standards on which are inscribed *Hagios, hagios, hagios*.⁶⁹ The heavenly Christ and the Infant Jesus may also be adored, by saints as well as by angels.

The most elaborate development of the theme of oblation and adoration in pre-Iconoclast art is the programme of the apse of San

64. Ihm, *Apsismalerei*, 137–138, 140–141, figs. 12 ii, 6 ii; Walter, 'Coronation of Milutin and Simonida,' 185–190.

65. Ihm, *Apsismalerei*, 167–169, pl. 15 ii; M. Prelog, *Poreč gradi spomenici* (Belgrade, 1957), 110–113; Jovanka Maksimović, 'Ikonografija i program mozaika u Poreču,' *ZRVI* 8 ii (1964), 247–262.

66. Ihm, *op. cit.*, 163–169, pl. 7 i.

67. W. Oakeshott, *The Mosaics of Rome* (London, 1967): Saints Cosmas and Damian, 90–92; San Lorenzo fuori le Mura, 145–149, fig. 77; San Prassede, 204–207, pl. 124; San Marco, 213–216, pl. xxiii; Santa Maria in Trastevere, 250–252, pls. 173, xxvi.

68. Y. Christe, *La vision de Matthieu* (Paris, 1973), 15–30.

69. Th. Schmidt, *Die Koimesis-Kirche von Nikaia* (Berlin/Leipzig, 1927), 21–42, pls. 12–13; Lazarev, *Pittura bizantina*, 67, 95 note 6, figs. 24–25, with discussion of the date (7th century?).

Vitale, Ravenna (fig. 53).⁷⁰ The conch is filled with a paradisiac representation of Christ, to whom bishop Ecclesius offers a model of the church.⁷¹ Below, on the side walls, Justinian, accompanied by bishop Maximian, and Theodora offer their gifts.⁷² The Christian sense of their oblation is underlined by the representation of the Adoration of the Magi on Theodora's dress.⁷³ Furthermore, Old Testament types of the Eucharist are represented on the walls: Abel and Melchisedech, and the Xenophilia of Abraham coupled with the sacrifice of Isaac.⁷⁴

In this programme, the profound meaning of the liturgy for the Byzantine Church is already clear. The Eucharist is, above all, an act of offering, of oblation. Yet it may be doubted that the offering of Justinian and Theodora is to be interpreted as an explicitly liturgical action. That is to say, the artist has not represented a specific moment in the Eucharistic celebration. Such doubts are prompted by the fact that in the 6th century Byzantine theologians were not interested in the Eucharist as an autonomous celebration. This would only begin when Maximus the Confessor wrote his *Mystagogy* in the 7th century.⁷⁵ In early Christian catechisms, the Eucharist was presented as the fulfilment of Old Testament sacrifices. It was by expounding the offerings of the just Abel and of

70. Deichmann, *Frühchristliche Bauten*, pls. 311–375; *idem*, *Ravenna Hauptstadt I*, 234–248.

71. *Idem*, *Frühchristliche Bauten*, pls. 311, 351–357.

72. *Ibid.*, pls. 358–375.

73. *Ibid.*, pl. 367.

74. *Ibid.*, pls. 314, 315, 322–331. This analysis by no means exhausts the interest of the iconographical programme, which also has a 'vertical' axis: prophets and evangelists, *ibid.*, pls. 312–321, 332–335 and *clipeus* portraits of apostles before the entry to the sanctuary, *ibid.*, pls. 301, 311, 334–339.

75. For the origins and evolution of the liturgical commentary, see Bornert, *Commentaires byzantins*, 47–82, esp. 65: 'La mystagogie de la liturgie est issue de l'explication typologique du culte juif et, plus généralement, de l'exégèse de l'Ancien Testament.' Another example of this typology is afforded by the mosaic of angels adoring the Ark of the covenant at Germigny-des-Prés, built for Theodulf of Orleans and consecrated in 816, A. Grabar, 'Les mosaïques de Germigny-des-Prés,' *Antiquité et Moyen Age*, 995–1006, pl. 233 a. The tradition goes back to Agnellus that a picture of Peter I Chrysologus was set up in the sanctuary of St John the Evangelist, Ravenna, by order of Galla Placidia. The description is precise: *Prolixit habet barbam, extensis manibus, quasi missam canit, et hostia veluti super altare posita est, et ecce angelus domini in aspectu altaris illius orationes suscipiens est depictus*. It is not difficult to envisage an altar like those used for scenes of Old Testament sacrifices (but presumably copying contemporary Christian altars), with an Orans figure like Apollinarius in Sant'Apollinare in Classe standing behind it. The picture was an *ex voto* rather than part of a decorative programme. Galla Placidia had it executed *pro illius sanctitiae*. Deichmann, *Ravenna Hauptstadt II* i, 110, 120–121.

Melchisedech that the significance of the Eucharist was explained. This kind of exposition inspired the programme of San Vitale, and that of Sant'Apollinare in Classe.

The controversy between scholars as to the exact moment represented by the scenes in which Justinian and Theodora figure is therefore sterile.⁷⁶ They belong to imperial imagery. The emperor and empress, representing the *oikoumene*, make their offerings directly to Christ the universal ruler, as Justinianic ecclesiology required.⁷⁷ When apse programmes took on a specifically Eucharistic character, such scenes were no longer admitted in the sanctuary. Pictures concerned with relations between the *oikoumene* or the terrestrial Church and Christ were relegated to the narthex or entrance. Thus, at Žiža the scene inspired by the Christmas Sticheron in which Sava III (1309–1316), Milutin and other Serbian personages make their offerings to the infant Christ, is situated not in the sanctuary but before the entrance to the church.⁷⁸

6. The intercession of the saints

The cult of the saints, in all times and places, enjoys a certain autonomy relative to the cult of the incarnate God. In order to forestall the possibility of 'schism', always latent in the celestial court, the ecclesiastical authorities had two principal methods. One was to integrate the cult of the saints into the Eucharistic liturgy; the other was to insist upon their intercessory role. Cyril of Jerusalem mentioned that the patriarchs, prophets, apostles and martyrs were already commemorated in the liturgy in the 4th century, followed by the holy fathers and bishops, together with the generality of deceased faithful, for whom suffrages were offered.⁷⁹ John Chrysostom spoke of the high prophylactic value of the relics of

76. Summary of the controversy, T. F. Mathews, *The Early Churches of Constantinople, Architecture and Liturgy* (University Park, 1971), 146–147, 153 note 64; Taft, *Great Entrance*, 30–31.

77. Justinian, of all the pre-Iconoclast emperors, took the most seriously his responsibilities in religious matters as Vicar of Christ.

78. M. Kašanin, etc., *Žiža* (Belgrade, 1969), 190–193; V. Djurić, 'Portraits in Paintings of the Christmas Sticheron' (in Russian), *Festschrift Lazarev*, 244–255.

79. Bishop, 'Liturgy of Narsai' (note 29), 97–117; Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catéchèses mystagogiques*, ed. A. Piédganel (Paris, 1966), 158, PG 33, 1116.

saints.⁸⁰ They could protect a city much more effectively than fortifications and an army; they warded off human enemies and the devil; they were even a shield against the wrath of the Lord when he raged on account of man's sinfulness. Such sentiments, which may seem to attribute autonomy to the prophylactic power of relics, were set in context by Gregory of Nazianzus when preaching about Saint Theodore in his shrine.⁸¹ He insisted that Saint Theodore's primary role was one of intercession before the Lord, even if he could personally drive off demons and bring angels of peace.

Pictures of saints were introduced early into apse decorative programmes. When they figure there as *clipeus* portraits, it is likely that they are present as members of the celestial court, chosen among those who had 'seen' the Lord. When they participate in the action of the heavenly court, inclined with outstretched arms, they are adoring the Lord rather than interceding for mankind.⁸² Intercession, as an explicit iconographical theme, develops from adoration, centering around the person of the Virgin. The Paraclesis, which is distinguished from adoration by the fact that the Virgin holds a roll on which a petition is inscribed, is probably first attested as an iconographical type on a repainted icon in the monastery of Saint Catherine, Mount Sinai.⁸³ It has been dated to the 6th or 7th century. This was the period when the cult of the Virgin developed as the supreme intercessor for Constantinople.⁸⁴ Even though the Paraclesis enjoyed a great vogue after the Triumph of Orthodoxy, as the pictorial affirmation both of the cult of icons and of intercessory prayer, it remained a devotional theme. It was never incorporated as such into the monumental programmes of Byzantine art.⁸⁵

It was no doubt by contamination from the Paraclesis that the Trimorphon, usually known as the Deësis, with John the Baptist as well as the Virgin inclined before Christ, acquired an intercessory

80. John Chrysostom, *Laudatio martyrum Aegyptiorum*, PG 50, 694–695.

81. Gregory of Nazianzus, *Oratio de sancto Theodoro*, PG 46, 745. The theology of intercession develops from that of the mediation of the Son, Athanasius, *Oratio de incarnatione verbi*, PG 35, 109; Walter, 'Deësis,' *REB* 26 (1968), 318–319.

82. Walter, 'Deësis,' 325–327.

83. Weitzmann, *Mount Sinai*, no. B 4; Walter, 'Deësis,' *REB* 28 (1970), 162–168, and *REB* 38 (1980), 261–269.

84. Averil Cameron, 'The Theotokos in 6th-century Constantinople,' *JTS* 29 (1978), 79–108; reprinted in *Continuity and Change in 6th Century Byzantium* (London, 1981).

85. Walter, 'Deësis,' *REB* 38 (1980), 268.

meaning.⁸⁶ That it was originally a 'visionary' scene, or one of adoration, is clear, first because it was usually represented as an apocalypse, and secondly because the text inscribed on John the Baptist's scroll is: 'Behold the Lamb of God.' John the Baptist was always held in high honour in the Byzantine Church. His cult would have become yet more fervent when his Head was 'invented' for the third time in the reign of Michael III (842–867), and enshrined in the monastery of Saint John Studius.⁸⁷ Henceforth he regularly takes a place to the left of Christ, with the Virgin to the right. In Deësis compositions these two personages alone hold their arms outstretched. Other saints are represented frontally. Such is the case in the earliest developed Deësis in the room over the south-west vestibule at Saint Sophia, Constantinople.⁸⁸ This practice continues on ivory triptychs, and in later versions in which the Deësis has certainly become a theme of intercession.

The Trimorphon was introduced early into apse decoration as an apocalyptic scene. As an intercessory scene it was probably first used in funerary chapels.⁸⁹ In the Constantinopolitan tradition it then disappeared from the apse of public churches, although it persisted in funerary art. The most striking example of its use in the latter is perhaps the enormous Deësis which dominates the apse of the Holy Apostles, Peć (ca. 1260), built as the mausoleum of the Serbian hierarchy.⁹⁰ In Cappadocia and Georgia, however, it persisted as an apse subject in public churches.⁹¹ There are many examples in which the presentation is still apocalyptic, although the sense of the picture is obviously intercessory. As an iconographical theme, the Deësis acquired its full significance when it was incorporated into the Last

86. The basic meaning of *deësis* is petition. It was applied to *ex voto* icons in Byzantine inventories, but with no specification of the subject. However, one such icon, listed in the *Diataxis* of Michael Attaliates (1077), is clearly a Trimorphon: 'The templon, which also has the Deësis in the centre, and the Life of the venerable and saintly Prodomos,' P. Gautier, 'La Diataxis de Michel Attaliates,' *REB* 39 (1981), 88, lines 1195–1196.

87. Walter, 'John the Baptist,' 74, 77–78.

88. Cormack & Hawkins, 'Rooms above the Vestibule,' 21, fig. 33. Only the tips of John the Baptist's fingers have survived, but there can be no reasonable doubt as to his identity.

89. Thierry, 'Programmes absidaux,' 17; Babić, *Chapelles annexes*, 162–173.

90. Djurić, *Vizantijske Freske*, 37–39, 195 note 38, suggesting that the mausoleum was inspired by the Holy Apostles, Constantinople. Archbishop Nikodim, writing 1318/9, says that Sava proposed as models the churches of Sion in Jerusalem and of the nearby monastery of Saint Sabbas, R. M. Grujić, 'Palestinski uticaji na sv. Sava,' *Svetosavski Zbornik* I, *Rasprave* (Belgrade, 1936), 291. Hamann-MacLean and Hallensleben, *Monumentalmalerei*, pls. 99–114.

91. Thierry, 'Programmes absidaux,' 16–22.

Judgment.⁹² It was at the moment of passing before the judgment seat that the human soul had need of powerful advocates in the celestial court. Representations of the Last Judgment in which the Virgin and Saint John the Baptist figure as advocates are known from the 11th century. The incorporation of the Last Judgment into a funerary programme is best exemplified by the decorations of the parecclesion of the Kariye Cami, Constantinople.⁹³

It has been suggested that the Deësis was inspired by the intercessory prayers in which the Virgin and Saint John the Baptist are invoked in the liturgy. If this is so, it is difficult to understand why the Deësis disappears from the apse programme of public churches just at the time when it acquired an intercessory sense. The case is different for the templon. Examples of the Trimorphon represented on an archivolt are known from the 10th century.⁹⁴ However, the Deësis does not become a regular theme for the templon before the 13th century. In the preceding century, the number of intercessory invocations in the rite of the prothesis began to multiply. It is likely, therefore, that it is to developments in this rite that the establishment of the Deësis on the templon is to be related.⁹⁵

7. The Last Supper and the Communion of the Apostles

The Last Supper and the Communion of the Apostles are ancient themes of Christian iconography.⁹⁶ It may be that the *refrigeria* represented in the catacombs are to be understood as the Last Supper. In monumental art, the Last Supper figures in the narrative cycle of Christ's teaching, miracles and passion in Sant'Apollinare Nuovo, Ravenna.⁹⁷ There is also a literary reference to it as figuring in the cupola of a chapel on Mount Sion, where the Upper Room

92. Walter, 'Deësis,' *REB* 28 (1970), 182–187.

93. Sirarpie Der Nersessian, 'Program and Iconography of the Frescoes of the Parecclesion,' *The Kariye Djami*, ed. P. Underwood, IV (Princeton, 1975), 325–331.

94. See above, 81. See also the templon in the church dedicated to John the Baptist, which Michael Attaliates endowed (before 1077), note 86 above.

95. See above, 81, and Appendix, The Rite of the Prothesis, 232ff. below.

96. K. Wessel, 'Abendmahl,' *RBK* I, 1–11; *idem*, 'Apostelkommunion,' *RBK* I, 239–245; H. Aurenhammer, 'Abendmahl,' *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie* (Vienna, 1959), I, 11–15; *idem*, 'Apostelkommunion,' *ibid.*, I, 222–227.

97. Deichmann, *Frühchristliche Bauten*, pls. 180–183; *idem*, *Ravenna Hauptstadt* I, 183.

was traditionally situated.⁹⁸ The Last Supper was a *historia*, to which the Communion of the Apostles was related as a *theoria*, since it interprets the former in a liturgical sense. There is no direct evidence of its use in pre-Iconoclast church decoration. However, it figures in the Rabbula Gospels, f. 11^v, and the Rossano Gospels, f. 3^v–4.⁹⁹ The latter manuscript has a series of four miniatures illustrating the moment of the Last Supper when Judas dips his hand in the dish, Christ washing the feet of his disciples, and two scenes, one for the distribution of the bread and the other for the distribution of the wine. These are narrative scenes, as their context demands. On two patens the liturgical reference is more obvious, for the table of the Last Supper is represented like an altar in the sanctuary of a church.¹⁰⁰

The earliest attested example of the Communion of the Apostles in monumental art is in Kılıçlar kilise, Cappadocia.¹⁰¹ The Last Supper figures in the apse only much later in Georgia and Montenegro. The question arises whether this reluctance to represent in the apse the event most closely corresponding to the Eucharist was real, or whether, rather, there were such scenes in apses before the 11th century in monuments which have not survived.

In the literary sources there are a number of accounts of the programmes with which churches should be decorated. Choricus tells us that, in the church of Saint Sergius at Gaza, probably built before 536, 'Art has placed (Christ) at table with (his) companions.'¹⁰² However, this is the only early account in which the Last Supper is specifically mentioned. In the *Life of Pancratius of Taormina* Saint Peter is said to have given instructions for church decoration, prescribing Christ's life cycle, so that 'being reminded of the Lord's Incarnation, the crowds of visitors should be inspired and so assume a more ardent faith.'¹⁰³ The list of subjects passes directly

98. R. N. Bain, 'Armenian Description of the Holy Places in the 7th Century,' 51, *Palestine Exploratory Fund Quarterly* 1896, 347, translated from the Russian edition of K. P. Patkanov of Moses Kagankatvatsi, *History of Agvan*, a 10th-century compilation incorporating earlier material.

99. A. Muñoz, *Il codice purpureo di Rossano* (Rome, 1907), 4, pls. 4–7; C. Cecchelli, *The Rabbula Gospels* (Olten/Lausanne, 1956), 65.

100. See above, 81–82.

101. See appendix, 10th-century Churches in Cappadocia, 225ff. below.

102. *Laudatio Marciani* I 72, *Choricii Gazaei Opera*, ed. R. Foerster & E. Richtsteig (Leipzig, 1929), 20–21; Mango, *Art*, 67.

103. Mango, *Art*, 137–138; Gouillard, *Synodikon*, 178–179.

from the healing miracles to Christ's betrayal, crucifixion, burial and resurrection. An Armenian treatise of the 7th century mentions Christ's nativity, baptism and passion, but not the Last Supper.¹⁰⁴

The texts associated with the Iconophiles manifest the same reticence. The *Synodikon of Orthodoxy* specifies among the scenes that should be represented, Christ's miracles and passion.¹⁰⁵ A letter of Theodore the Studite also mentions specifically the miracles and passion.¹⁰⁶ John Damascene in his treatise *De imaginibus* lists the nativity, baptism and transfiguration before passing to Christ's passion, death and miracles.¹⁰⁷ A letter from pope Gregory II to Germanus of Constantinople also lists childhood scenes, miracles and the passion.¹⁰⁸

The poem by Constantine of Rhodes, describing the church of the Holy Apostles after restoration under Basil I, is incomplete. However, the scenes of Christ's life are presented chronologically, passing from the entry to Jerusalem to the betrayal, without mentioning the Last Supper.¹⁰⁹ This consistent omission of the Last Supper from lists of scenes may not prove that it was not represented. On the other hand, the lists cannot be cited in evidence that it was represented! Their structure resembles that of Lives of saints, in which childhood events were recounted, particularly if they included a conversion, but in which the emphasis was placed upon the passion and miracles.

The only literary evidence for the representation of the Communion of the Apostles is in the description of the Holy Apostles by Nicolas Mesarites. 'Christ,' he wrote, 'stands at the table as at an altar. . . . He sheds his blood into the cup which he holds in front of himself. . . . He gives them to eat of his flesh.'¹¹⁰ Since,

104. Sirarpie Der Nersessian, 'Une apologie des images du 7^e siècle,' *Byz* 17 (1944-1945), 64.

105. Gouillard, *Synodikon*, lines 28-29, 44-45, 157, p. 169. I thank M. Jean Gouillard for his help in providing material for the present paragraph. The responsibility for its interpretation is, however, mine.

106. Theodore the Studite, *Epistolae* II 199, PG 99, 1612.

107. John Damascene, *De imaginibus* I 8, PG 94, 1240.

108. Gregory II, *Epistola ad Germanum*, PG 98, 152.

109. E. Legrand, 'Description des oeuvres d'art et de l'église des Saints-Apôtres à Constantinople: poème en iambiques par Constantin le Rhodien,' *Revue des études grecques* 9 (1896), 61-62; Mango, *Art*, 201.

110. Mesarites, *Holy Apostles*, ed. Heisenberg, 30-32; ed. Downey, 870-871; Mango, *Art*, 229-230; N. Malickij, 'Remarques sur la date des mosaïques de l'église des Saints-Apôtres à Constantinople décrites par Mesarites,' *Byz* 3 (1926), 126-151. The author argues from a

however, this text was written after the restorations known to have taken place in the Holy Apostles in the 12th century, it is poor evidence for the decorative programme in Basil I's time, the more so that there is no allusion to a Communion of the Apostles in the poem by Constantine of Rhodes. Nevertheless A. M. Friend considered this scene to be the theological capstone of Basil I's pictorial answer to Iconoclasm.¹¹¹

Such a hypothesis becomes even less plausible if it can be shown that the Iconophiles were reluctant to represent publicly the Last Supper and the Communion of the Apostles. Vituperation and deliberate suppression on the side of the Iconophiles have made it difficult to reconstruct the theological positions of the Iconoclasts. However, one of their theses, which the Iconophiles disliked, was that the consecrated bread and wine of the Eucharist were, at the same time, truly Christ's body and blood and truly his image.¹¹² This thesis was both Christologically sound and founded in Patristic tradition.¹¹³ The Iconoclasts argued further that the Eucharistic species were not only a true image but also the only possible image of Christ, for he could not be represented in pictorial form without either dividing or confusing his two natures. The Iconophiles ignored the second contention,¹¹⁴ and refuted the arguments in favour of the first rather than its basic tenet.¹¹⁵ They then treated Iconoclasm as a recrudescence of Arianism.¹¹⁶ They affirmed from tradition that images had always been made, without any detailed

comparison between the descriptions of Mesarites and representations of the same subjects in the Chludov Psalter and *Paris. graec.* 510 in favour of considerable redecoration in the 12th century. However, he reserves judgment on the Communion of the Apostles, 149.

111. W. C. Loerke, 'The Monumental Miniature,' *The Place of Book Illumination in Byzantine Art* (Princeton, 1975), 89–92, summarizes Friend's views. They were presented in a paper delivered in a symposium held on the Holy Apostles at Dumbarton Oaks, which was never published. I was unable to have access to Friend's manuscript, when visiting Dumbarton Oaks in July 1980.

112. S. Gero, 'The Eucharistic Doctrine of the Byzantine Iconoclasts and Its Sources,' *BZ* 68 (1975), 11–12.

113. *Ibid.*, 4–22.

114. Gouillard, *Synodikon*, 171.

115. Gero, *art cit.*, 8–9. The implications of the Iconoclast argument were that an icon of Christ either represented him in his human nature alone, thus separating it from his divine nature (Nestorianism), or it represented him in such a way that the distinction between his two natures was not clear, such that he seemed to have only one nature (Monophysitism).

116. Theodore the Studite, *Canon in erectione SS. imaginum*, ode 6, PG 99, 1773: 'You [John Grammaticus] have torn the sacred stole as Arius once tore the robe of Christ.' The author was actually Methodius. See above, 55 note 127.

examination of whether or not these images had received cult.¹¹⁷ Concentrating on the icon of Christ, they expressed the relationship between the image and the prototype in such a way that to deny it was also to deny that the Son was the true image of the Father and that he consequently participated in the divine nature.¹¹⁸ If Iconoclasts were equivalent to Arians, it was irrelevant whether Iconophiles might be Nestorians or Monophysites!¹¹⁹

It would have been more harmonious and, theologically, sounder to have situated the cult of icons in relation to the Eucharistic liturgy as expressions of Christian worship. However church councils rarely do their work properly. The dominant group is embarrassed when its opponents use acceptable doctrine to render more plausible theses which are offensive to pious ears. They exaggerate the importance of the doctrine which they are principally concerned to defend. Many centuries may pass before the heat generated by controversy has diminished and equilibrium in the Church's teaching can be restored.¹²⁰

Such may well have been the case with the Eucharist. Its institution had not been regarded in the pre-Iconoclast period as a central event in Christ's incarnate life. It enjoyed the vogue neither of the first *parousia*, his Nativity, nor of his triumphal Anastasis. It was not relevant to the cult of images as were his epiphanies and his apocalypses, which affirmed that he was accessible to human eyes and could, in consequence, be represented on an icon. The conservative tendencies of the Iconophiles would, in any case, have encouraged them to continue to give first place to representations of these favorite pre-Iconoclast themes. The privileged means of access to the Creator continued to be a vision or the contemplation of his painted image. A representation of the Last Supper or the Communion of the Apostles in a public place, particularly as the

117. Gouillard, *Synodikon*, 178.

118. Ch. von Schönborn, *L'icône du Christ, fondements théologiques élaborés entre le I^{er} et le II^e concile de Nicée (325-787)* (Fribourg, 1976), 235.

119. Gero, 'Eucharistic Doctrine' (note 112), 5; Gouillard, *Synodikon*, 170.

120. An analogy may be drawn between the attitude of the council of Trent to Protestants and that of the council of Nicaea to Iconoclasts. Luther affirmed the priesthood of the laity, which is a sound doctrine, rooted in Christian tradition. However, he did not make a real distinction between the priesthood of the laity and that conferred by the sacrament of order. For this reason the priesthood of the laity was 'suppressed' in Catholic teaching for four hundred years, only to be reaffirmed at the second Vatican council. The time-lapse is about the same as that between the second council of Nicaea and the earliest representations of the Communion of the Apostles in apse decoration.

theological capstone of a decorative programme, might have been interpreted as an endorsement of the Iconoclast thesis.

8. Liturgical development in the 9th & 10th centuries

It would not be true to suggest that the period following the Triumph of Orthodoxy was one in which the Church was indifferent to forms of worship other than the cult of icons and of relics. On the contrary, it is possible to detect many signs of a renewed interest in the Eucharist, even if this was not reflected in church decoration.

Two treatises, one a liturgical mystagogy and the other a popular catechism, had a great vogue. Of these, the first, the *Historia ecclesiastica*, was by far the more important.¹²¹ A *historia* in the technical sense that its primary aim was to expound the constituent elements of the Eucharistic liturgy in terms of the events of Christ's life, it was composed as a general treatise and not for a restricted circle. Tradition quickly attributed its authorship to Basil of Caesarea, although there are a few witnesses to the more plausible attribution to Germanus of Constantinople. Certainly earlier in date than the visit to Constantinople of Anastasius Bibliothecarius (869–870), who was to translate the treatise into Latin, it remained the standard Byzantine commentary on the liturgy, undergoing several revisions. It has been suggested that the *Historia ecclesiastica* exercised an influence on middle Byzantine church decoration.¹²² If so, this is because it describes the church as the microcosm of the universe and presents the members of the celestial court in hierarchical order, introducing, for the first time, an echelon of bishops.¹²³ Yet more important would be its indirect influence, in that it definitely established the practice of commenting on the liturgy as an autonomous text. Thus it prepared the way for reorganizing apse decoration in such a way that the focus was upon the Eucharist itself, rather than upon the general themes of adoration and oblation as exemplified by the sacrifices of the Old Testament.

121. Bornert, *Commentaires byzantins*, 125–180, with bibliography of the editions.

122. *Ibid.*, 178–180.

123. Germanus, *Historia ecclesiastica*, ed. Brightman, 257–258. Compare the Syrian hymn describing the cathedral of Edessa, 14, dated after 524/5: 'Representing the apostles, and Our Lord, and the prophets, and the martyrs, and the confessors,' Mango, *Art*, 59.

The popular catechism, for which an 8th- or 9th-century date has been proposed, takes the form of an apocryphal *Life of Basil of Caesarea*, attributed to Amphilocius of Iconium.¹²⁴ The sacraments, liturgy and prayer, as they enter into the life of the pious believer, are explained in terms of prodigies purported to have occurred in Basil's life.

There is evidence of greater importance being attributed during this period to the preparation of the bread and wine which were to be used for the Eucharistic oblation. The rite of the prothesis, which also served as a spiritual preparation for the celebrants, was introduced about 700.¹²⁵ By the end of the 9th century it had been considerably augmented, from which date it remained stable until the middle of the 11th century. At the same time, the Great Entrance developed from a simple carrying of gifts to the altar into a majestic procession, becoming, from a ceremonial point of view, the most spectacular moment in the Eucharist.¹²⁶

Structural changes in the plan of Byzantine churches may be related to the development of the rite of the prothesis. The practice of constructing small chapels to the north and south of the central apse was ancient.¹²⁷ It had certainly existed before Iconoclasm, although at first they were probably used for the cult of saints or of the dead. The theory that before Iconoclasm this practice existed only in Syria and Greece, being introduced at Constantinople after the Triumph of Orthodoxy, where the first attested example would be the 10th-century church Bodrum Cami, is open to criticism.¹²⁸ Evidence exists that side chapels were constructed earlier, in the church of the Dormition in Nicaea and elsewhere on the coast of the Sea of Marmora, areas which certainly came under Constantinopolitan influence.¹²⁹

The liturgical function of these side chapels began to determine the scenes to be painted there in the 10th century. The examples of the new church of Tokalı kilise and of Kılıçlar kilise, Cappadocia, may be cited in evidence.¹³⁰ Yet even in a church like Saint Sophia,

124. See above, 191 note 25.

125. See appendix: The Rite of the Prothesis, 234 below.

126. Taft, *Great Entrance*, 178ff.

127. Babić, *Chapelles annexes*.

128. Mathews, *The Early Churches* (note 76), 105–107.

129. Schmidt, *Koimesis-Kirche* (note 69), plan IV; C. Mango & I. Ševčenko, 'Some Churches and Monasteries on the Southern Shore of the Sea of Marmora,' *DOP* 27 (1973), 236–277; C. Mango, *Architettura bizantina* (Milan, 1974), 165–180.

130. See appendix: 10th-century Churches in Cappadocia, nos. 12, 15, 230–232 below.

Ohrid, whose central apse programme is clearly liturgical, the side chapels were still decorated with scenes concerned with the cult of saints. In fact, the original function of side chapels continued to exercise an influence on their decorative programmes.

Yet another indication of liturgical renewal was the augmentation of liturgical vestments. The *encheirion* and *epitrachelion* were mentioned for the first time in a letter of Nicephorus (805–816).¹³¹

Most Eucharistic pictures from the 9th and 10th centuries are miniatures, commenting upon a text. Psalm 33,8: 'Taste and see that the Lord is good,' had long been associated with communion. In the Rossano Gospels, the scene of the Communion of the Apostles is accompanied by a miniature of David holding a scroll, on which this text is inscribed.¹³² In the 9th-century marginal Psalters, the converse procedure was used. This verse is illustrated by a scene of the Communion of the Apostles in the Pantocrator Psalter, f. 37, and the Bristol Psalter, f. 53.¹³³ The same scene recurs in the Chludov Psalter, f. 25, and in *Paris. graec.* 20, f. 25, but to illustrate Psalm 109, 4: 'Thou art a priest for ever, after the order of Melchisedech.'¹³⁴ A more summary version of the Communion of the Apostles appears in the 10th-century manuscript of John Chrysostom's *Homilies, Athen.* 211, f. 110^v.¹³⁵ Only Saints Peter and Paul receive communion. However, the altar is unusually well stocked. Besides a paten containing four hosts, five other hosts are placed on the altar. There are also two chalices, one of which is offered by Christ to Saint Paul, while the other stands on the altar beside the hosts.

Thus all the elements, both doctrinal and iconographical, were available in the 10th century for a liturgical restructuring of apse

131. See above, 19, 21.

132. Muñoz, *Il codice purpureo* (note 99), 6.

133. Dufrenne, *Psautiers grecs*, 24, 57, pls. 5, 50.

134. Štepkina, *Chludov Psalter*, at folio number; Dufrenne, *Psautiers grecs*, 46, pl. 45.

135. Illustrating *In epistolam ad Hebraeos*, 20, Weitzmann, *Byzantinische Buchmalerei*, 57–58; Grabar, 'Miniatures gréco-orientales,' 810, 828–829, pl. 192 b. This manuscript, whose illustrations are particularly erudite, merits re-examination and re-interpretation. For example, there is unlikely to be an allusion in this miniature to the separation of the commemorative particles from the host in the rite of the prothesis, as Grabar supposed. This practice is not attested before the end of the 11th century, see Appendix: The Rite of the Prothesis, 235 below. However, Leo the Tuscan's Latin translation of the Liturgy of John Chrysostom, incorporating rubrical material from the 10th century or earlier, prescribes that, when the *prospora* are brought to the altar, they should be placed on it in the form of a cross, Taft, *Great Entrance*, 243. See also, above, 72 note 238, and below 201.

programmes. It is even possible that a certain measure of stabilization took place before the 11th-century innovations. It is best observed in the 'fossilized' apse programmes of a number of churches in the Peloponnese, particularly the Mani peninsula, in Cappadocia and in Georgia.¹³⁶ These churches are later in date, but their decorative programmes do not include the Eucharistic scenes which were by then in current use elsewhere. The apostles, who had originally participated in apocalyptic scenes, remain as an anodyne echelon of portraits. Below them is an echelon of bishops. Before this stabilization, there may even have been experiments. For example, in the church of Balkan Dere 3, Cappadocia, the echelon of apostles appears below Christ in the cupola, suggesting associations with the Ascension, while the echelon of bishops appears below him in the apse.¹³⁷

At the beginning of this chapter two axes were distinguished in the Byzantine church. The vertical axis, culminating in the cupola, lent itself to symbolical treatment. The horizontal axis, culminating in the apse, was interpreted functionally. It seems that changes were introduced in the vertical disposition of programmes earlier than in the horizontal. Bishops were admitted to a place in the hierarchy of saints directly after the apostles earlier than they were represented in the apse performing the liturgy. Their introduction as an echelon into the hierarchy is already explicit in the *Historia ecclesiastica*. The procedure which led to their participation in the Eucharistic programmes in the apse was more complex. It presupposed not only a change in the functional conception of the apse but also a radical restructuring of the theology of the Church, of the relationship between Christ and mankind.

The iconographical expression of these changes was, at first, timid. The Communion of the Apostles first appears in a side chapel. When it passed to the main apse, it was not represented in the centre but on the side walls of the sanctuary as in the Panagia Chalkeon, Thessaloniki (1028).¹³⁸ However, by the middle of the 11th century this reticence had been overcome, as will be clear in the next section.

136. Thierry, 'Programmes absidaux,' 11-15, esp. Eşkı Gümüş; Gordana Babić, 'Sur les influences constantinopolitaines dans la peinture en Géorgie et dans les Balkans au début du 13^e siècle,' *Terzo Simposio Internazionale sull'Arte Georgiana* (Bari-Lecce, 1980).

137. See appendix: 10th-century Churches in Cappadocia, no. 10, 229 below.

138. Papadopoulos, *Wandmalerei* (note 51), 26-35.

9. Saint Sophia, Kiev, and Saint Sophia, Ohrid

Although the apse programmes at Kiev and Ohrid are structurally similar, the latter is far more erudite.¹³⁹ The apocalyptic scene which earlier figured in the conch of the apse or on the triumphal arch has been reduced at Kiev to three clipeate portraits of Christ, the Virgin and John the Baptist, placed over the sanctuary entrance. At Ohrid it occupies the same place, but the figures are in bust form, with angels flanking the Trimorphon. In both churches the conch is occupied by the Virgin and Child. The Christ Child at Ohrid has peculiarities, which must be discussed in due course. At Kiev the lower tier is filled with an unambiguous Communion of the Apostles, in which Christ figures twice, distributing the bread and wine. At Ohrid Christ figures only once. He stands behind the altar, making a speaking or blessing gesture with his right hand, and holding an unusually large host in his left (fig. 58). This picture must also be discussed in due course. Lower still is the echelon of bishops. At Kiev they stand to left and right of the central window, flanked by saintly deacons. At Ohrid, where they are far more numerous, the central place is occupied by Basil of Caesarea and John Chrysostom.

The programme at Ohrid is further enhanced by the pictures placed on the side walls of the sanctuary. A certain continuity may be observed from pre-Iconoclast apse decoration, for there is an Old Testament type of the Eucharist, the Sacrifice of Abraham. However there are no pictures of donors. Instead, there are two scenes which do not recur elsewhere in apse decoration. On the north wall Basil is represented standing at an altar, holding an inscribed liturgical roll. The accompanying picture on this wall is less well preserved. A variety of interpretations have been proposed. Those who have seen it close to correctly discerned that the recumbent figure has the features of John Chrysostom. He is receiving the gift of wisdom.¹⁴⁰

Two similarly structured apse programmes, almost contemporary, in centres so far apart as Kiev and Ohrid must derive from a lost Constantinopolitan model. It is reasonable to suppose that the Communion of the Apostles was represented as the central theme in the apse of a church in the capital during the early 11th century. However, the unique elements in the programme of Saint Sophia,

139. For bibliography, see above, notes 52, 53.

140. See above, 112 note 137.

Ohrid, require further explanation. Since the reigning bishop at the time that the programme was executed, Leo, was himself a theologian and writer, actively involved in controversy with the Latins over the use of leavened and unleavened bread in the Eucharist, the original ideas must be his.¹⁴¹

The programme is well articulated, so that it is possible to explain the less perspicuous scenes by relating them to those whose significance is clear. It has already been noted that the bishops at the lowest level represent the Pentarchy, in which primacy falls to the see of Constantinople.¹⁴² The two most highly esteemed bishops of the Byzantine Church receive privileged treatment. Basil was particularly celebrated as the author of the liturgy, the text of which had been revealed to him, according to the Pseudo-Amphilocius, directly by the apostles.¹⁴³ John Chrysostom was particularly esteemed for his wisdom. He had a special relationship with Saint Paul, who, in the scene on the north wall, heads the group of apostles standing by his bed.

Christ, however, was the supreme source of wisdom. The Christ child in the conch, unusually, wears a long tunic and holds a scroll in his left hand, extending his right in a gesture of speaking or blessing. He is therefore presented as a teacher. The thin band, resembling a stole, which is draped around his shoulders, refers discreetly to his priesthood.¹⁴⁴ Over a century would have to elapse before Christ was painted wearing patriarchal vestments.

If the picture of Christ in the conch is related to that of John Chrysostom, it is reasonable to ask whether some link exists between the picture of Christ holding up the host and that of Basil

141. Djurić, *Vizantijske Freske*, 10; Ann Wharton Epstein, 'The Political Content of the Paintings of Saint Sophia at Ohrid,' *JÖB* 29 (1980), 323–325. This article contains a number of valuable insights, and its general contentions are defensible. In matters of detail, some assertions are debatable or even erroneous. For example, 322, Cyril does appear among the bishops, see above, 107.

142. See above, 175–176.

143. Pseudo-Amphilocius, *Vita sancti Basilii SS. Patrum Amphilocii Iconiensis... opera omnia*, ed. F. Combefis (Paris, 1644), 175–177; A. Grabar, 'Les peintures murales dans le chœur de Sainte-Sophie d'Ohrid,' *CA* 19 (1965), 262–263.

144. The 'stole' does not closely resemble any ecclesiastical vestment. It is neither an *omophorion*, nor a deacon's *orarion*. The closest analogy is to be found at Çanlı kilise, Cappadocia, Nicole Thierry, 'Études cappadociennes, Région de Hasan Dağı...', *CA* 24 (1975), 189 (reprinted *Peintures*), who also associates it with Christ's priestly function. Other examples are adduced by Epstein, 'The Political Content' (note 141), 318 note 15. However, it is extremely unlikely that a Byzantine artist would represent Christ, as she contends, as a deacon.

celebrating. The significance of the picture of Basil is clear. The Pseudo-Amphilocius recounts that the apostles revealed to him the text of the Anaphora, which begins with the prayer of the proscomide, recited after the gifts have been placed on the altar. The text is given by the Pseudo-Amphilocius; it is also inscribed, in this picture, on Basil's roll.¹⁴⁵ The whole text of the Anaphora is not quoted by the Pseudo-Amphilocius. He merely writes that, at the end, 'Basil lifted up the bread and prayed out loud.' He then gives the first words of the prayer of the elevation of the bread, which immediately precedes the distribution of communion.

The iconographical type known as the Communion of the Apostles has, in fact, a number of variants.¹⁴⁶ There may be a single distribution, as in the Rabbula Gospels, or a double distribution, as in the Rossano Gospels and on the two early patens. In another variant, exemplified in the Pantocrator and Chludov Psalters, Christ distributes the bread alone, while the apostles take the chalice of wine in their hands. Finally, in the Bristol Psalter, Christ stands alone at the altar, holding the bread in his left hand and blessing with his right. Since a legend: *metadosis* accompanies the miniature, there is no doubt that it represents communion.¹⁴⁷

This is the variant of the Communion of the Apostles which most closely resembles the picture in the apse of Saint Sophia, Ohrid. It has been averred on good authority that there were once traces of a legend, which could be read as *metalepsis*.¹⁴⁸ The moment chosen is the end of the Anaphora, when the bread is elevated before communion.¹⁴⁹ There is an implicit reference to the account of the Pseudo-Amphilocius. Two scenes have been chosen from the Anaphora: Basil reciting the prayer of the proscomide at the beginning, and Christ elevating the bread at the end. It is even

145. Brightman, *Liturgies*, 310; Djurić, *Vizantijske Freske*, pl. 6. The second part of the prayer of the proscomide associates the worship of Christians with the Old Testament sacrifices, including the holocausts of Abraham, and the true worship of the apostles.

146. See above, 185.

147. Suzy Dufrenne, 'Images du décor de la prothèse,' *REB* 26 (1968), 308.

148. P. Miljković-Pepel, 'Materijali za Makedonskata srednovekovna umetnost,' *Zbornik (1955–1956), Izdanija na Arheološkiot Muzej, Skopje* 1 (1956), 44.

149. R. Ljubinković, 'La peinture murale en Serbie et en Macédoine aux 11^e et 12^e siècles,' *Corsi di cultura* 9 (1962), 419, suggests the preparation for communion. S. Radojčić, 'Prilozi,' 359–360, compares the painting with the miniature which precedes the prayer of the proscomide in the liturgical roll Jerusalem Stavrou 109. The comparison is just, but the miniature does not illustrate the prayer of the proscomide, as Epstein assumes, 'The Political Content' (note 141), 320, following Grabar, 'Les peintures murales' (note 143), 259. The miniature is a frontispiece to the whole Anaphora, see below, note 283.

possible that the large size of the host held by Christ is deliberate. Christ is offering for communion the leavened bread of the Greek Church, not the unleavened bread of the Latins.¹⁵⁰

10. Conclusion

For the period from the accession of Constantine to the middle of the 11th century, the apse programmes of San Vitale, Ravenna and Saint Sophia, Ohrid, best exemplify the official imagery of the Byzantine Church. Both are concerned with the relationship between mankind and its creator, Christ. Both present this relationship in terms of offering or oblation, although in Saint Sophia, Ohrid, this theme is conjugated with that of wisdom. In San Vitale the notion of the Eucharist as an offering to Christ is presented indirectly by the representation of the Old Testament sacrifices. In Saint Sophia its presentation is direct and explicit; indeed the Eucharist is now understood as mankind's supreme oblation to Christ. This is not, in itself, surprising, for the Eucharist had always been considered a re-enactment of Christ's sacrificial offering on Calvary. What requires elucidation is why so many centuries passed before the Eucharist became the central theme of programmes decorating the sanctuary in which it was celebrated.

An explanation may be sought in the imagery—the complex of iconographical signs—available to the Byzantine Church, and in the ecclesiological priorities when new apse programmes were elaborated. In the 4th century the Church affirmed the triumph of Christ and his accessibility by theophanies or visions to human eyes. In order to transpose these notions into pictures, it adapted imperial imagery; the court of heaven was visualized as analogous to the imperial court. Mankind adored its creator and made offerings to him in the same way as loyal citizens or conquered peoples to the emperor in court ceremonial. However, this was not a mere semiological transposition of the 'signifying' part of signs. The terrestrial Church was assimilated during these centuries to the *oikoumene*, of which the emperor was Christ's vicar. The unity of Christendom under the emperor had to be affirmed during Justinian's reign, when schism between the Orthodox and the Monophysites coincided with a political cleavage. The programme

150. Djurić, *Vizantijske Freske*, 10.

in the apse of San Vitale signifies that the whole of Christendom is making its offering to Christ, together with the Old Testament patriarchs and the saints in heaven.

In the 4th century, since the whole inhabited world had passed to Christianity, it was expected that Christ's second coming would not be long delayed. However, as its prospect receded, it became apparent that further divine interventions were necessary, in order to protect Constantinople from its enemies. The intercession of the Virgin was sought. It proved so effective that the Virgin was adopted as the city's principal protector. As early as the 7th century, perhaps, the Virgin Paraclesis was represented. The sign used for adoration was retained, but its significance was modified. The intercession of the saints for mankind became more important than their adoration of Christ. The denial by the Iconoclasts of the value of intercession made it necessary to affirm the opposite. Cult of the saints was the most powerful motive force in iconographical development after the Triumph of Orthodoxy.

Since the Iconoclasts had also called in question the orthodoxy of the cult of icons, it was necessary to affirm the dogma upon which this cult was based. Since Christ was accessible to human eyes, it followed that his facial features could be represented. Insistence upon the visibility of Christ was a conservative force in Byzantine art during the 9th and 10th centuries. It was partly counteracted by the cult of saints, which extended the repertory of those who might be represented, previously limited in large measure to those who could be classified as 'visionaries'. The category of saints which benefited most was that of bishops, whose sufferings over the centuries in the cause of Orthodoxy won them the right to constitute an echelon of the celestial court inferior only to the apostles.

Important developments in the theology of the Eucharist occurred from the 7th century, manifest in the commentaries on the liturgy of which the most important was the *Historia ecclesiastica*, attributed to Basil of Caesarea but more probably written in its original form by Germanus of Constantinople. However, the institution by Christ of the Eucharist was only gradually accepted to be the central mystery of the Christian faith. Reluctance to represent Eucharistic scenes in an official apse programme may have been due to the prominence given by the Iconoclasts to the notion that the consecrated bread and wine were the true and unique 'icon' of Christ. This reluctance was finally overcome in the 11th century, because it was then necessary to affirm the doctrine that communion

in Christ's mystical body gives cohesion and unity to the Church. From the 11th century the Eucharist was a constant source of controversy both with the Latins and within the Byzantine Church.

The apse programmes of Saint Sophia, Kiev, and Saint Sophia, Ohrid, are the culminating point of iconographical trends which may be traced back to the 4th century. The programme of the latter church, in particular, offers a synthesis, the elements of which may be found dispersed elsewhere. It heralds a new triumphalism, suggesting that, in the 11th century, the Byzantine Church was serenely confident, both in its autonomy relative to imperial authority and in its orthodoxy and supremacy with respect to Rome. The *oikoumene* has no place in its programme; Christendom is represented rather by the bishops of the Pentarchy. The terrestrial Church now belongs to the clergy. The only lay personages represented in the sanctuary are those who look on from the nave while Basil celebrates the liturgy.

Yet the programme of Saint Sophia, Ohrid, is not only a culminating point but also a watershed. The rapid development in apse programmes from the middle of the 11th century contrasts with the slow evolution of preceding centuries. A presage of it is, indeed, present in this church. Basil celebrating the liturgy is represented on a side wall, just as the Communion of the Apostles had been in the Panagia Chalkeon, Thessaloniki. By the end of the 11th century, bishops celebrating the liturgy were being represented in the centre of the apse.

EUCHARISTIC SCENES FROM THE LATE ELEVENTH CENTURY

The apostles were frequently represented as an echelon of portraits. A number of iconographical types were also used to define their special relationship with Christ. They were his disciples and witnesses to his divinity; they received instructions to found a Church. Such are the ideas underlying such well-known scenes as Christ teaching the Apostles, partaking in the Last Supper with them, conferring a mission on them, and ascending to heaven in their presence. However, the most important of the scenes defining their relationship with Christ proved to be the Communion of the Apostles.

It was suggested above that the representation of bishops followed

a similar procedure. The iconographical type of the ecumenical council corresponds to the echelon of portraits. However, while scenes in which the apostles are present were represented in the apse at an early stage, this was uncommon for bishops. Before the 11th century the latter figure only in donation scenes. In one exceptional case, at Santa Maria Antiqua, Rome, portraits of those bishops whose writings had been cited at a Lateran synod against the Monothelites were chosen to decorate the apse. But, in general, council pictures were relegated to the narthex.

The representation in the apse of bishops celebrating the liturgy was therefore a new departure.¹⁵¹ The earliest example which can be securely dated is in the church dedicated to Saint John Chrysostom at Koutsovendis, Cyprus (1092–1118).¹⁵² The apse programme in the Eleousa, Veljusa (after 1080) must be about contemporary.¹⁵³ From the end of the 12th century examples multiply.¹⁵⁴ The number of bishops who take part in the liturgical action increases from two in the Eleousa to twelve in Saint George, Staro Nagoričino (1316–1318).

After the bishops in the apse have been galvanized, the same influence extends to the angels in the cupola. The courtiers disposed in an echelon become, from the 14th century, participants in the celestial liturgy.

All three scenes—the officiating bishops, the Communion of the Apostles and the Celestial Liturgy—become, like other iconographical themes in Palaeologan art, progressively more ritualized. In their totality, they present the Church Triumphant as a hierarchy of Eucharistic celebrations.

151. Gordana Babić, 'Les discussions christologiques et le décor des églises byzantines au 12^e siècle,' *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 3 (1968), 368–386; Ch. Walter, 'La place des évêques dans le décor des absides byzantines,' *Revue de l'art* 24 (1974), 81–89; *idem*, 'L'évêque célébrant dans l'iconographie byzantine,' *L'assemblée liturgique et les différents rôles dans l'assemblée*, ed. A. Triacca (Rome, 1977), 321–331.

152. C. Mango & E. J. W. Hawkins, 'Report on Fieldwork in Istanbul and Cyprus 1962–1963,' *DOP* 81 (1964), 333–339.

153. Babić, 'Les discussions christologiques' (note 151), 376–377; Djurić, *Vizantijske Freske*, 11–12, 180 note 5.

154. Gordana Babić & Ch. Walter, 'The Inscriptions upon Liturgical Rolls in Byzantine Apse Decoration,' *REB* 34 (1976), 269–280, reprinted, *Walter Studies*. To the examples given there, add: 8^{bis}, Lagoudera, Panagia tou Arakou (1192), Tychon (4), Nicolas (3), Meletius (2), John Chrysostom (1) :: Basil (12), Gregory (13^b), Athanasius (14^b), John the Almoner (15), Lydie Hadermann-Misguich, *Kurbinovo* (Brussels, 1975), 90, note 195; 19^{bis}, Ortaköy, Saint George, Basil (10^a) :: John Chrysostom (4), Nicole Thierry, 'Programmes absidaux,' 14, where the letters, legible on the original photograph, have been incorrectly transcribed.

11. The officiating bishops

Once the scene of officiating bishops had been created its structure was not modified. The bishops are disposed in two files at the lowest level of the apse, converging from north and south towards the centre. They are slightly inclined. Each bishop holds a liturgical roll, on which a text is inscribed. He is also named in a legend. However in the details there was liberty for development and diversity. The altar, placed in the centre, was variously represented. The number and identity of the bishops differs from church to church, as does the text inscribed on their rolls. Other legends also accompany the scene. The development and diversity of these details must be described before attempting to establish the profound significance of the scene of officiating bishops. A further paragraph will then be added on its place in the decorative programme of the prothesis chapel.

i. *The altar*

An altar appears in all representations of officiating bishops, except in the ossuary chapel at Bačkovo, where candles are painted to left and right of the central window, and in the Panagia, Lagoudera.¹⁵⁵ Liturgical vessels are often placed on it. In the Eleousa, Veljusa, and Saint Panteleimon, Nerezi, the Hetoimasia is placed above it.¹⁵⁶ The Christ child appears on the altar for the first time in Saint George, Kurbinovo (1191).¹⁵⁷ From the 14th century, the dead Christ sometimes replaces the Christ child.

None of these elements were new to Byzantine iconography. Liturgical utensils of the new dispensation are placed on the altar in the pictures of Old Testament sacrifices in San Vitale and Sant'Apollinare in Classe, Ravenna.¹⁵⁸ They also appear in the scene of the Communion of the Apostles on the Riha paten.¹⁵⁹ The altar at which Basil gives thanks for the death of Julian the Apostate in the 9th-century Paris Gregory, f. 409v, is bare.¹⁶⁰ On the other

155. Elka Bakalova, *The Ossuary Chapel of Bačkovo* (in Bulgarian), (Sofia, 1977), 74–75; Lydie Hadermann-Misguich, 'Fresques de Chypre et de Macédoine dans la seconde moitié du 12^e siècle,' *Proceedings of the First International Congress of Cypriology II* (Nicosia, 1972), 45.

156. Babić, 'Les discussions christologiques' (note 151), 374–376.

157. Hadermann-Misguich, *Kurbinovo* (note 154), 67–78.

158. See above, 180.

159. See above, 81–82.

160. Omont, *Miniatures*, 25, fig. 54.

hand, in the 10th-century *Athen.* 211, f. 110^v, it was noted that the altar is particularly well stocked.¹⁶¹ On another altar represented in the same manuscript, f. 56, there is only a chalice and a paten.¹⁶² There are some twenty miniatures in the 11th-century *Vatican. graec.* 752, in which an altar is represented. Unfortunately the artist took no great pains to delineate clearly the objects placed on them; only once, f. 265, is there unambiguously a chalice.¹⁶³

It does not seem that liturgical utensils, whether in earlier pictures or in the scene of the officiating bishops, have any special sense. To use the same terminology as was used for liturgical vestments in Chapter I, they are 'reduplicative' particles: they stress the significance of the altar, but do not modify it.

The Hetoimasia was an ancient iconographical type. It was widely exploited in a variety of contexts, because it was a useful sign for divinity.¹⁶⁴ Deriving from the throne, a symbol of divine or imperial power in antique art, it was adapted in Christian art to eschatological scenes: the empty throne of judgment prepared for the Second Coming (fig. 18). The antique practice of representing attributes of a god or emperor beside or on the throne was also adopted in Christian art: a dove for the Holy Spirit, a book or cross for Christ, to which from the 11th century were sometimes added the instruments of the Passion.¹⁶⁵ When the attributes of Christ appear alone, as in the mosaic on the triumphal arch of Santa Maria Maggiore, Rome,¹⁶⁶ or in the miniature of the twelve tribes celebrating the name of Jehovah in *Vatican. graec.* 1927, f. 234^v, then the throne belongs to Christ.¹⁶⁷ The addition of the dove evokes the Trinity, for the Father had no personal attribute.

Since the bema of the church was the throne of Christ, the altar was easily assimilated to a throne.¹⁶⁸ In the miniature mentioned above, *Athen.* 211, f. 56, illustrating a homily which contrasts eternal life with worldly life and churchgoing with junketing, the presence of

161. See above, 191.

162. Grabar, 'Miniatures gréco-orientales,' 807–808, 821–823, fig. 190 c.

163. De Wald, *Vaticanus graecus* 752, 29, pl. 39.

164. Th. von Bogyay, 'Hetoimasia,' *RBK* II, 1189–1202, with detailed bibliography; Walter, *Conciles*, *passim*.

165. Von Bogyay, *art. cit.*, 1197–1198.

166. Walter, *Conciles*, 230–231, fig. 113.

167. *Ibid.*, 224–225, fig. 109.

168. The cathedral of Edessa, 19, Mango, *Art*, 59; see above, 189 note 123; Germanus, *Historia ecclesiastica*, ed. Brightman, 259.

the book, cross and haloed dove beside the chalice and paten makes it clear that the Trinity is present at the Eucharistic banquet.¹⁶⁹ The meaning is the same for the altar at Veljusa and Nerezi.¹⁷⁰

In the earliest example of the Christ child on the altar, at Kurbinovo, the body, covered with a veil, is so large that until the fresco was cleaned it was mistaken for the dead Christ.¹⁷¹ In subsequent examples the child is smaller and usually placed upon a paten. The following variants in its presentation may be noted. A veil covers the child at Dabnište¹⁷² and Sopoćani,¹⁷³ an asterisk in the Taxiarchs, Kastoria,¹⁷⁴ the Bogorodica Ljeviška, Prizren,¹⁷⁵ and the Holy Apostles, Seirikari (Crete).¹⁷⁶ At Arilje, the child is larger in size and covered with both veil and asterisk.¹⁷⁷ In the Transfiguration, Pyrgos, there is a bust of the Christ child on the altar,¹⁷⁸ while, at Donja Kamenica, he is placed such that he lies on both the chalice and the paten (fig. 55).¹⁷⁹ Yet greater scope was given to the creative imagination in post-Byzantine representations of the Christ child.¹⁸⁰ Sometimes angel deacons are present, as at

169. Illustrating John Chrysostom, *In Genesim* 7, PG 54, 607–616; see above, 201 note 162.

170. Babić, 'Discussions christologiques' (note 151), 224–225, fig. 109. Traces of a dove and a book are visible in Saint Demetrius, Prilep, *ibid.*, 383–384; Djurić, *Vizantijske Freske*, 14. A Hetoimasia with a cross but no dove is painted in the apse of Saint Michael the Archangel, at Cemil. That it signifies Christ alone is made doubly clear by the presence of John the Baptist holding a scroll, on which is inscribed: 'Behold the Lamb of God.' To the right is a frontal portrait of a bishop. De Jerphanion, *Eglises rupestres* II, 132–133, dating the painting to the 11th century; Thierry, 'Programmes absidaux,' 12, schema 2.

171. Hadermann-Misguich, *Kurbinovo* (note 154), 67–68; other putative examples, *ibid.*, 74 note 30.

172. P. Miljković-Pepok, 'Contributions aux recherches sur l'évolution de la peinture en Macédoine au 13^e siècle,' *L'art byzantin au 13^e siècle*, ed. V. Djurić (Belgrade, 1967), 192, fig. 8.

173. V. Djurić, *Sopoćani* (Leipzig, 1967), 226–227.

174. A. K. Orlandos, *The Byzantine Monuments of Kastoria* (in Greek), (Athens, 1939), 72, fig. 51.

175. Draga Panić & Gordana Babić, *Bogorodica Ljeviška* (Belgrade, 1975), 116–117.

176. K. Lassithiotakes, 'Churches of Western Crete' (in Greek), *Kretika Chronika* 21 (1969), 192–193, fig. 30.

177. Hamann-MacLean & Hallensleben, *Monumentalmalerei*, pl. 148.

178. Tania Velmans, 'Deux églises byzantines au début du 14^e siècle en Eubée,' *CA* 18 (1963), 194, fig. 3.

179. R. Ljubinković, 'Crkva u Donjoj Kamenici,' *Starinar* 1 (1950), 55.

180. In the Panagia Porphyra, Prespa (1524), the Christ child is placed in the chalice, S. Pelekanides, *Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Monuments of Prespa* (in Greek), (Thessaloniki, 1960), 96, pl. 33. In the annex of the Panagia Mavriotissa, Kastoria (1552), Basil holds the Christ child in his hand, *idem*, *Kastoria* (in Greek), (Thessaloniki, 1952), pl. 204.

Saint Nicolas, Manastir,¹⁸¹ or in the chapel in the Radoslav narthex at Studenica.¹⁸²

No securely dated example exists of the dead Christ on the altar in the central apse. However, he appears in a former votive chapel in the narthex at Dečani (1335–1350).¹⁸³ On stylistic grounds the example in the church of the Saints Theodore at Kafioni, Mani,¹⁸⁴ may also be dated to the 14th century. The two examples in the Theoskepastos and Saint Sabbas, Trebizond, were probably painted in the 15th century.¹⁸⁵

ii. *The liturgical rolls*

The bishops, dressed in a *phelonion* or *polystavrion* and inclined towards the altar, hold a roll in their hands. They are almost invariably headed by John Chrysostom and Basil of Caesarea.¹⁸⁶ A liturgical roll first appears in Byzantine painting in the representation of Basil celebrating the liturgy in Saint Sophia, Ohrid.¹⁸⁷ However, the attribution of an inscribed roll to a personage is ancient. The prophets in the Rossano Gospels hold rolls inscribed with a passage from their writings relevant to the scene above.¹⁸⁸ The bishops in Santa Maria Antiqua whose writings were cited against the Monothelites are represented similarly.¹⁸⁹ A petition is

181. D. Koco & P. Miljkovic-Pepck, *Manastir* (Skopje, 1958), 47, pl. 10.

182. Hamann-MacLean & Hallensleben, *Monumentalmalerei*, pl. 78. Other examples in Saint John Kaneo, Ohrid, P. Miljkovic-Pepck, *Crkvata Sv. Jovan Bogoslov Kaneo vo Ohrid*, Kulturno Nasledstvo 3 (Skopje, 1967), 81–82; at Karan, V. Petković, *Pregled crkvenih spomenika kroz povescnicu srpskog naroda* (Belgrade, 1950), 19.

183. V. Petković, *Dečani II* (Belgrade, 1941), 2, pls. 95 i, 96.

184. Dora Iliopolou-Rogan, 'Sur une fresque de la période des Paléologues,' *Byz* 41 (1971), 109–121.

185. G. Millet & D. Talbot-Rice, *Byzantine painting in Trebizond* (London, 1936), 43, 127, pl. 31.

186. Babić & Walter, 'Inscriptions upon Liturgical Rolls' (note 154), 273–278. In Slav countries, the legends on the rolls, also taken from the liturgy, are inscribed in the local language, *ibid.*, 278. The same is true in Georgia. Two examples may be cited, established by Dom B. Outtier, O.S.B., from photographs belonging to Madame Nicole Thierry, using the text of the liturgy edited by M. Tarchnišvili, *Liturgicae ibericae antiquiores* (Louvain, 1950): Kintzvisi, Kartli, dated 1207. Four bishops to the left, Prayer of the Trisagion continuously from right to left, Tarchnišvili, 68 lines 12–17; four bishops to the right, Prayer of the catechumens, continuously from left to right, *ibid.*, 71 lines 6–9. Timotesoubani, Kartli, 12th–13th century. Six bishops to the left, Prayer during the Cherubicon, continuously from right to left, *ibid.*, 72 line 30 to 73 line 3; six bishops to the right, Prayer of the catechumens, continuously from left to right, *ibid.*, 71, lines 6–12.

187. See above, 195.

188. Muñoz, *Il codice purpureo* (note 99), 6–7, pls. 1–12.

189. See above, 171 note 35.

inscribed on the roll of the Virgin Paraclesis.¹⁹⁰ The evidence of iconography suggests, therefore, that even when the codex replaced the roll in general use, the roll was retained for some purposes, with the text inscribed *transversa charta*.¹⁹¹ It may be that the analogy between an official petition and a liturgical prayer explains the use of rolls for the liturgy. They were certainly in use earlier than the first representation of a bishop holding a roll.¹⁹² Unlike others in Byzantine art, the liturgical roll is held open at either end by the bishop, in conformity, no doubt, with actual practice.¹⁹³

The text on the liturgical roll held by bishops in apse programmes is generally the first phrase of a prayer taken from the liturgy of Basil or of John Chrysostom.¹⁹⁴ Some thirty different prayers are used. For most bishops they seem to have been chosen at random. However, as early as 1164, at Nerezi, the prayer of the prothesis is attributed to John Chrysostom and the prayer during the Cherubicon to Basil.¹⁹⁵ For these two bishops, these remain the normal prayers. If the *ekphonesis* after the consecration is later attributed to Cyril of Alexandria, it is no doubt because it is an invocation of the Theotokos.¹⁹⁶ Other prayers are taken from every part of the liturgical action.

In two early examples, at Kurbinovo and Lagoudera, the first phrase of the prayers which precede or follow those recited by Basil and John Chrysostom are inscribed on the rolls of the other bishops.¹⁹⁷ The surest means of interpreting the scene of officiating bishops is, therefore, to relate it to the prayers recited by these two saints. The prayer of the prothesis is the oldest part of the preparation of the *prosphora*.¹⁹⁸ The prayer of the Cherubicon,

190. Walter, 'Deësis,' *REB* 26 (1968), 320–323.

191. L. W. Daly, 'Rotuli, Liturgical Rolls and Formal Documents,' *Greek Roman and Byzantine Studies* 14 (1973), 332–338.

192. G. Cavallo, 'La genesi dei rotoli liturgici beneventani alla luce del fenomeno storico-librario in Occidenti ed Orienti,' *Miscellanea in memoria di Giorgio Cencetti* (Turin, 1973), 221–223. *Vatican. graec.* 2282, a roll for the liturgy of Saint James, was written in the 9th century.

193. See also the bishop in *Vatican. graec.* 1927, f. 41, Walter, *Conciles*, 31, fig. 4.

194. For the list of incipits, Babić & Walter, 'Inscriptions upon Liturgical Rolls' (note 154), 271–272. The list given by Denis of Fournas has, for the most part, no foundation in iconographical tradition, *ibid.*, 279 note 51.

195. Babić, 'Discussions christologiques' (note 151), 375–376.

196. Babić & Walter, 'Inscriptions upon Liturgical Rolls,' 279.

197. *Ibid.*, 273, no. 8, and 199 note 154 above.

198. See appendix: Rite of the Prothesis, 234 below.

although not ancient,¹⁹⁹ was attributed without question in the 12th century to Basil.²⁰⁰ It is recited while the gifts are being brought to the altar. The choice of these two prayers is consequently in line with the dominant theme of preceding apse decorative programmes: that of oblation.

There are, however, churches in which the texts inscribed on the rolls are different. In the Hermitage of Neophytus (Cyprus), the prayer of the prothesis continues from roll to roll.²⁰¹ This is unique. In other churches the prayers of consecration alone are inscribed on the rolls. Exceptionally in Bezirana kilisesi, Cappadocia (*ca.* 1200), the text is inscribed on the wall beside the figures of John Chrysostom and Basil, who do not hold rolls; it continues on the roll of Amphilocius.²⁰² In Saint Nikita, Čučer,²⁰³ (before 1316), and the Panagia Eleousa, Prespa,²⁰⁴ (1410), the words of the consecration are inscribed on the rolls of John Chrysostom and Basil; in the Taxiarchs, Kastoria²⁰⁵ (1359), they extend to the rolls of four bishops. In the parecclesion of the Panagia Mavriotissa, Kastoria²⁰⁶ (1552), Basil holds the infant Christ in his hand and makes a gesture of blessing, while the words of the consecration are inscribed on the rolls of three other bishops. Finally in Saint Andrew, Treska²⁰⁷ (1388/9), a roll inscribed with the words of consecration lies on the altar.

The choice of texts for the rolls suggests, then, two dominant lines for the interpretation of the converging lines of bishops: it is a scene either of oblation or of the consecration of the offerings.

iii. *Melismos* and other legends

A legend, *Melismos*, is inscribed sometimes above the altar in the

199. Taft, *Great Entrance*, 135–136.

200. *Ibid.*, 120–121.

201. C. Mango & E. J. W. Hawkins, 'The Hermitage of Saint Neophytus and Its Wall Paintings,' *DOP* 20 (1966), 167, 204, pl. 69. At Sopoćani (1263–1268), the prayer of the Cherubicon is inscribed continuously on the bishops' rolls in Old Serbian. This is also unique. Test transcribed, N. Okunev, 'The Paintings of the Programmes in the Church of Sopoćani' (in Russian), *Byzantinoslavica* 1 (1929), 119–150.

202. Jacqueline Lafontaine-Dosogne, 'Une église inédite de la fin du 12^e siècle en Cappadoce: la Bezirana kilisesi dans la vallée de Belisirma,' *BZ* 68 (1975), 7.

203. Babić & Walter, 'Inscriptions upon Liturgical Rolls' (note 154), 275, no. 22.

204. Pelekanides, *Prespa* (note 180), 113.

205. Orlandos, *Kastoria* (note 174), 73–74.

206. N. K. Moutsopoulos, *Kastoria, the Panagia Mavriotissa* (in Greek), (Athens, 1967), 27.

207. Babić & Walter, *art. cit.*, 277, no. 35.

scene of officiating bishops. The earliest dated example is in Saint Nicolas, Manastir (1271).²⁰⁸ It recurs in 14th-century churches, at Dabnište²⁰⁹ and Donja Kamenica (fig. 55),²¹⁰ for example, and continues in the post-Byzantine period, as in the parecclesion of the Panagia Mavriotissa, Kastoria.²¹¹

The verb *melizo*, meaning dismember, was used at least as early as the 5th century for the breaking of liturgical bread.²¹² Eusebius of Alexandria wrote of the Lord dismembered and distributed.²¹³ It was not, however, used in the 9th-century texts for the Eucharist collated by Brightman.²¹⁴ A formula for the fraction of the bread for communion first appears in manuscripts of the 12th and 13th centuries.²¹⁵ One was retained in the *textus receptus*. It is likely that the legend was intended to remind celebrants of a recent liturgical innovation.

Earlier than the church at Dabnište, but dateable only by their style to the 11th or 12th century, are the paintings at Samari, Messenia.²¹⁶ The bishops in this church are represented frontally, so that there is no question of a liturgical celebration. However, above them a picture of the dead Christ is accompanied by a legend: 'He who eats my flesh and drinks my blood dwells in me and I in him' (John, 6, 55–56).

This picture has often been compared with the dead Christ represented on a reliquary tablet, formerly in the Stroganov collection and now in the Hermitage, Leningrad.²¹⁷ The most likely reading of the legend on this tablet is: *Christos prokeitai kai melizetai Theos*, for this same text is inscribed above the altar in the scene of the officiating bishops in the Holy Apostles, Seirikari.²¹⁸

208. Koco & Miljkovic-Peppek, *Manastir* (note 181), 47–49.

209. Miljkovic-Peppek, 'Contributions' (note 172), 192, fig. 8.

210. Ljubinković, 'Crkva u Donjoj Kamenici' (note 179), 55.

211. Orlandos, *Kastoria* (note 174), 73–74.

212. Lampe, *Lexicon*, 841.

213. Eusebius of Alexandria, *Sermo* 1, PG 86, 416.

214. Brightman, *Liturgies*, 341.

215. See appendix: *Melismos*, 238 below.

216. Helena Grigoriadou-Cabagnols, 'Le décor peint de l'église de Samari en Messénie,' *CA* 20 (1970), 182–185.

217. G. Schlumberger, 'Un tableau reliquaire byzantin du 10^e siècle,' *Mélanges d'archéologie byzantine* (Paris, 1895), 187–192, whose date is too precocious; Bank, *Byzantine Art*, 364. The letters of the legend have been ineptly restored. G. Millet, *Recherches sur l'iconographie de l'Evangile* (Paris, 1916), 499 note 4, proposed this reading, without knowledge of the inscription at Seirikari.

218. Lassithiotakes, 'Churches of Western Crete' (note 176), 192–193.

Finally, in Saints Joachim and Anna, Studenica (1314), a legend has been inscribed in Old Serbian: 'The Lamb of God is sacrificed and killed for the whole world' (fig. 56).²¹⁹

iv. *The significance of the officiating bishops*

The question is sometimes raised whether the scene of officiating bishops corresponds to a precise moment in the liturgy. Among those which have been suggested, the Great Entrance is the least likely, because the converging lines of bishops are represented in prayer, whereas, in the scene of the Celestial Liturgy, which is certainly modelled on the Great Entrance, the personages are represented in procession. The prothesis is also unlikely, for there are no evident points of resemblance between the scene and the rite, which, in any case, was performed already in the 11th century by a priest and not a bishop.²²⁰ Deductions from the presence or absence of angel deacons or of the asterisk may be valid for individual examples, but not for the iconographical type in general.

Since the scene of officiating bishops was developed after the Communion of the Apostles had been established in the apse, it is likely that it also was intended to represent an important moment in the liturgy. As has been seen, the two liturgical scenes in the apse of Saint Sophia, Ohrid, represent the beginning and the end of the Anaphora.²²¹ The scene of officiating bishops is best identified as a moment of the Anaphora, standing for the whole liturgical celebration. The texts inscribed on the rolls or the accompanying legends may give a special reference to one or more precise moments in the Eucharist. However, the scene is doctrinal rather than realistic. In antique and Byzantine art there was a regular tendency to use one moment in a ceremony to stand for the whole and to attribute a doctrinal significance to it.

The scene of officiating bishops developed in the historical context of the Christological disputes which began in the late 11th century.²²² In the reign of Alexius Comnenus (1081–1118), for whom Euthymius Zigabenus compiled his *Dogmatic Arsenal*, John Italus

219. V. Petković, *Manastir Studenica* (Belgrade, 1924), 70; Walter, 'L'évêque célébrant' (note 151), 326.

220. Taft, *Great Entrance*, 268.

221. See above, 195.

222. Babić, 'Discussions christologiques' (note 151), *passim*; H. G. Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich* 2nd ed. (Munich, 1977), 329–344, 609, 629.

was condemned for his views as to how Christ took on human nature. He maintained that Christ's two natures were not identical in his person: his human nature became perfect under divine influence. He also denied the identity of the three persons of the Trinity. These errors led to his condemnation by a synod held in 1082. Eustratius of Nicaea, who followed his example in denying the identity of the three persons of the Trinity, repented of his error in 1117. In 1156, under Manuel Comnenus (1143–1180), Soterichus Panteugenēs was condemned by a synod, after which, in order to justify his theological positions, he wrote a dialogue, in which he called in doubt the orthodoxy of the last phrase in the prayer recited during the Cherubicon in Basil's liturgy: 'You [Christ] are the one who offers and who is offered, who accepts and [who] is distributed.' There are various versions of this prayer, but the one which Panteugenēs criticized, on the grounds that Christ could not both offer and accept, had been established in the Constantinopolitan liturgy at least since the 11th century.²²³ The official answer was that Christ could offer as man and receive as God.²²⁴

The controversy took a new direction when Demetrius of Lampe, a little later, raised the question how the Father could be greater than the Son, as Christ himself had said (John 14, 28), if both Father and Son were equal. A synod held at the Blachernae in 1166 ruled that the text referred to Christ in his human nature.²²⁵

The written sources provide no evidence that the synods took steps to promulgate orthodox teaching on the persons of the Trinity and on Christ's oblation on Calvary by means of pictures. Nevertheless there are points of contact between the Christological issues raised and the iconography of officiating bishops. The first surviving picture of this scene with a Hetoimasia, that at Veljusa, is not much later in date than the condemnation of Italus. The inscription of the first phrase of the prayer of the Cherubicon on Basil's roll becomes standard just at the time that Panteugenēs called the orthodoxy of its last phrase in doubt. Subsequent iconographical development reiterates the orthodoxy of the prayer, by introducing the legend *Melismos*, to which there is an allusion in the prayer. Moreover the passage from preoccupation with the Trinity to preoccupation with

223. Taft, *Great Entrance*, 140.

224. E. Lanne, 'La prière de la Grande Entrée,' *Miscellanea liturgica in onore di S. E. il cardinale G. Lercaro II* (Rome, 1967), 609–629; Taft, *op. cit.*, 135–136.

225. Beck, *Kirche* (note 222), 622.

Christ's sacrificial role is common both to the controversy and to iconography.

The iconographical type of the Eucharistic table on which is placed the Hetoimasia existed already in the 10th-century miniature in *Athen.* 211. f. 56, cited above.²²⁶ The replacement of the Hetoimasia by a representation of Christ must, therefore, reflect the preoccupations of contemporary theologians.²²⁷ It is clear from the decisions taken by synods that theological differences were resolved by insisting on the human nature of Christ. Since the Eucharist, as the liturgical texts frequently recall, re-enacted the sacrificial death of Christ, it might have been more suitable to represent him on the altar as dead. Indeed, the *Historia ecclesiastica* calls the altar Christ's tomb, and likens the Great Entrance to the funeral procession from Calvary to the Holy Sepulchre.²²⁸ It could, indeed, be inferred from the representation of Christ as dead at Samari and from the elongated Christ child at Kurbinovo, that the dead Christ was represented in the first, no longer extant, pictures of the officiating bishops.

Nevertheless there was an ancient tradition of establishing a parallel between the Eucharist and the Nativity. John Chrysostom called the altar a spiritual cradle; Christ is extended on the altar as the Magi saw him lying in the manger.²²⁹ The Eucharist, he observed in another context, is not only the memorial of Christ's Passion but also of his infancy.²³⁰ A number of edifying anecdotes tell how the Christ child miraculously appeared in the place of the consecrated species. A monk who maintained that the bread and wine were only the antitypes of Christ's body and blood saw an angel descend into the sanctuary, cut up a child, pour the blood into the chalice, and place the morsels of flesh on the consecrated bread

226. See above, 201–202.

227. It has been suggested that there is a connection between the use of the Hetoimasia and controversy with the Latins over the Epiclesis, the prayer which, in the Byzantine rite, invokes the Holy Spirit to change the offerings into Christ's body and blood, Grozdanov, *Ohridsko Slikarstvo*, 162–163. This would be difficult to prove. In any case, the Hetoimasia rapidly disappears from scenes of the officiating bishops. The earliest example of the Hetoimasia being used to signify the Holy Spirit alone is in the picture of the Trinity in the parecclesion of Saint Gregory at the Peribleptos, Ohrid (ca. 1360), G. Subotić, *Ohridska slikarstva škola XV veka*. (Belgrade, 1980), 55.

228. Germanus, *Historia ecclesiastica*, ed. Brightman, 392.

229. John Chrysostom, *In Matthaeum*, PG 57, 78–79; *In beatum Philogonium*, PG 48, 753; *In Epistolam I ad Corinthios*, PG 61, 204. For John Chrysostom's use of allegorical symbolism, Bornert, *Commentaires byzantins*, 78–79.

230. John Chrysostom, *In Matthaeum* 25/26, PG 57, 331.

which then also became flesh.²³¹ A bishop who had taken a Jewess as his mistress attempted to convert her. In the church she had a vision of a man in white who tied the celebrant to a column and, taking his place at the altar, distributed the flesh of a child as communion; miraculously the child's body remained intact.²³² Yet another such story concerns the vision of a convert Saracen. Gregory of Decapolis, who recounts it, remarks that the Saracen was permitted to behold with his own eyes the mystery of Transubstantiation—a privilege which had not been extended to any of the great doctors of the Church.²³³ However, the most important of these texts is also that which is best known. It occurs in an apocryphal homily of Cyril of Jerusalem.²³⁴

I see a child who brings to Earth a sacrifice according to the Law, but who receives in heaven the pious sacrifices of all. [I see him] on the cherubic throne, seated as is becoming to God. He himself is offered and purified; he himself offers and purifies all; he is the offering and he is archpriest.

Not only is the text close to that of the prayer of the Cherubicon but it was also used in the Christological controversies and included by Nicetas Choniates in his *Treasury of the Orthodox Faith*.²³⁵ Peter of Alexandria's vision of the Christ child did not, however, have a Eucharistic sense at the beginning.²³⁶

The evidence provided by the liturgical commentaries is less clear. Maximus the Confessor, indeed, likened the entry into church with the entry of Christ into the world.²³⁷ In the 11th century Nicolas of Andida, whose *Protheoria* establishes a parallel between the development of the liturgical action and the Life of Christ, compares

231. G. Schalkhauser, *Zu den Schriften des Makarios von Magnesia*, Texte und Untersuchungen 31 (Leipzig, 1907) 10–12. In a shorter version, the monk succeeded in resolving his problems about antitypes by prayer alone, Barsanuphe et Jean de Gaza, *Correspondance*, ed. L. Regnault & P. Lemaire (Sablé-sur-Sarthe, 1972), 398–399.

232. P. Canart, 'Trois groupes de récits édifiants byzantins,' *Byz* 36 (1966), 24–25.

233. Gregory of Decapolis, *Sermo*, PG 100, 1201–1212. The story was translated into Old Slavonic and the name Amfilog was attributed to the Saracen, E. Kaluzniacki, 'Die Legende von der Vision Amphilog's und der Logos Historikos der Gregorios Dekapolites,' *Archiv für slavischen Philologie* 25 (1903), 101–108; Suzy Dufrenne, 'L'enrichissement du programme iconographique dans les églises byzantines du 13^e siècle,' *L'art byzantin au 13^e siècle*, ed. V. Djurić (Belgrade, 1967) 36 note 12.

234. *Oratio in occursum Domini nostri*, PG 33, 1192–1193. Attribution to the 6th century, X. Le Bachelet, *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique* III, 2537.

235. PG 140, 164–165; Babić, 'Discussions christologiques' (note 151), 384–385.

236. See above, 94, and below, 213–214.

237. *Mystagogia*, 8, PG 91, 688.

the chapel of the prothesis to Bethlehem.²³⁸ His example was followed by Michael Psellus.²³⁹ Later the passage from the *Protheoria* was interpolated into the *Historia ecclesiastica*, next to the passage likening the *skevophylakion* to Calvary.²⁴⁰ Although Symeon of Thessaloniki also compares the prothesis to Bethlehem,²⁴¹ it seems that the liturgical commentators were not responsible for the assimilation of the host to the Christ child, but rather to Christ in his human nature.²⁴² Gregory Palamas remarked: 'He who observes with faith the mystical table on which is placed the bread of life sees there the subsistent Word of God, become flesh and living among us.'²⁴³ If a literary source is to be postulated for the Christ child on the altar, the most plausible is the apocryphal homily of Cyril of Jerusalem. Whether the Christ child or the dead Christ was chosen, the 'vision of faith' was rendered concrete by an 'icon'. Centuries earlier, the Iconophiles had rejected the Iconoclast thesis that the Eucharistic species were the only true icon of Christ.²⁴⁴ Paradoxically, in the 12th century, the icon of Christ was being used to represent the Eucharistic species.

The scene, in common with preceding subjects chosen for apse decoration, is essentially Christological. Like them, it is also concerned both with the accessibility of Christ to his creatures and with the idea of oblation.²⁴⁵ Now, however, the primary modality of Christ's presence in his creation is sacramental. An obvious

238. *Protheoria*, 10, PG 140, 429. Dated by J. Darrouzès 1084–1095, 'Nicolas d'Andida et les azymes,' *REB* 32 (1974), 199–203.

239. P. Joannou, 'Aus den unedierten Werken des Psellos: Das Lehrgedicht zur Messopfer ...,' *BZ* 51 (1958), 5 line 78.

240. PG 98, 400. By this time the passage in the *Historia ecclesiastica* commenting upon the prayer of the proscoides in terms of Calvary had been moved back to comment upon the prayer of the prothesis, ed. Brightman, 389–390. Bornert notes a number of interpolations from the *Protheoria* in the *Historia ecclesiastica*, *Commentaires byzantins*, 139, although this one, apparently, escaped him.

241. *De sacra liturgia* 85, PG 155, 264. The Pseudo-Timothy of Jerusalem compares the whole church with the cave of Bethlehem, B. Capelle, 'Les Homélies liturgiques du prétendu Timothée de Jérusalem,' *Ephemerides liturgicae* 63 (1949), 19–20; PG 28, 953–956.

242. See, for example, Nicolas of Andida, who remarks that Gregory of Nazianzus spoke of the whole divine dispensation in his Homily on the Nativity and similarly of the Nativity in his Homily on the Resurrection, *Protheoria* 3, PG 140, 420–421, for Christ reigned already in the cave at Bethlehem, *ibid.*, 11, PG 140, 433. Much of this material was presented in my communication at the 15th International Congress of Byzantine Studies, 'The Christ child on the altar in Byzantine apse decoration' (Athens, 1976).

243. PG 151, 272; Walter, 'L'évêque célébrant' (note 151), 329.

244. Nicephorus, *Antirrheticus* II, *Adversus Constantinum Copronymum*, PG 100, 332–337; see above, 184–189.

245. See above, 179–180.

consequence was the exaltation of those who rendered Christ present by consecrating the bread and the wine. This was a priestly office which was performed on all solemn occasions by bishops. The scene, therefore, eloquently proclaims that the exercise of the episcopal function is a necessary condition of the existence of the Church.

v. *Chapel of the prothesis*

The variety of scenes to be found in the two chapels flanking the central apse suggests that there were no strict rules for their decoration, perhaps because they continued to be used for the cult of saints and of the dead long after their function had become explicitly liturgical.

Sometimes the programme of the central apse overflowed into the side chapels, so that files of officiating bishops, or others represented frontally, may be found in them. Sometimes a scene of officiating bishops appears in the chapel of the prothesis. In such cases it usually underwent some adaptation. In the prothesis of the Holy Apostles, Peć (ca. 1260), the two celebrants are Sava and Arsenije, the first archbishops of Serbia.²⁴⁶ Since the church was the mausoleum of Serbian bishops, it is understandable that the scene should have been related to their cult. Above them, the Ancient of Days is represented receiving their prayers, recalling a miniature in the liturgical roll Lavra 2.²⁴⁷ At Sopoćani (1263–1268) only the central part of the scene of officiating bishops is represented.²⁴⁸ The Christ child, covered with a veil, is placed on a paten, with angels standing on either side, holding *rhypidia*. At Saint Nicolas, Melnik, the legend *Melismos* accompanies the scene.²⁴⁹ However, the most striking example is at Ljuboten (after 1337), in which one bishop makes a gesture of blessing, while the other makes an incision with a lance in the body of the Christ child.²⁵⁰

246. Gordana Babić, 'Simbolično značenje živopisa u protezicu Svetih Apostola u Peći,' *Zbornik zaštite spomenika kulture* 15 (1964), 173–182.

247. *Ibid.*, 178–179; L. Bréhier, 'Les peintures du rouleau liturgique no. 2 du monastère de Lavra,' *Seminarium Kondakovianum* 11 (1939), 4–5.

248. Djurić, *Vizantijske Freske*, 234, 236.

249. A. Stránský, 'Les ruines de l'église de St. Nicolas à Melnik,' *Studi bizantini i neoellenici* 6 (1940), 424, pl. 138, proposing a 13th-century date.

250. V. Petković, *La peinture serbe du Moyen Age I* (Belgrade, 1930), pl. 132; Djurić, *Vizantijske Freske*, 61; Millet, 'Pierre d'Alexandrie,' 108, incorrectly cites another example at Mateič; his drawing, *ibid.*, fig. 2, is of the picture at Ljuboten.

In the two last scenes there is a curious lack of theological precision. It is possible that at Melnik two rites have been confused, the separation of particles from the *prospora* in honour of the saints, and the fraction for communion. At Ljuboten, the incision with a lance is appropriate, for this was made during the rite of the prothesis. However, the artist was apparently unaware that Iconophile theologians had ruled that, before consecration, the *prospora* was only an antitype of Christ.²⁵¹ He was not alone in failing to make this distinction, for the faithful had long been prone to venerate the bread and wine when they were carried in procession to the main altar at the Great Entrance, as if they had already been consecrated.

This procession was likened to the carrying of Christ's body from Calvary to the Holy Sepulchre.²⁵² The simile justified the representation in the chapel of the prothesis of scenes from Christ's Passion, of which the most common was the Pietà.²⁵³ It may also have inspired the picture of the dead Christ on the altar in the chapel at the monastery of Marko, although this is incorporated into a complex programme, which occupies the whole lower level of the sanctuary area.²⁵⁴

Another scene commonly found in the chapel of the prothesis from the 14th century was the Vision of Peter of Alexandria (fig. 20).²⁵⁵ Its iconographical development well exemplifies trends in Byzantine art from the 11th century. Since Peter of Alexandria was a 'visionary', he had a right to a place in any echelon of saints. The Christ child appeared to Peter with a tear in his seamless robe. The seamless robe was a favorite theme for Patristic commentary.²⁵⁶ In the 4th century to rend it signified not only the introduction of schism into the Church, but also the separation of the Son from the Father by denying that the Son was divine and

251. See above, 187–188.

252. See above, 211 note 240.

253. Dufrenne, 'Images de décor de la prothèse,' *REB* 26 (1968), 298; D. I. Pallas, *Die Passion und Bestattung Christ in Byzanz* (Munich, 1965), 197–290, suggests other sources for the use of Passion imagery to decorate the chapel of the prothesis, which Dufrenne rejects too summarily. One might be the alternative hymn to the Cherubicon, sung during the Great Entrance procession, *En tapho somatikos*. Another would be the Holy Saturday liturgy. The programmes of the chapel of the prothesis merit further study.

254. See below, 220.

255. Millet, 'Pierre d'Alexandrie,' 99–115; Dufrenne, *Mistra*, 33–34.

256. M. Aubineau, 'Dossier patristique sur Jean 19, 23–24: La tunique sans couture du Christ,' *La Bible et les Pères* (Paris, 1971), 9–50.

consubstantial with the Father.²⁵⁷ Less commonly, the seamless robe was interpreted as a sign that Christ was not divided when the consecrated bread was broken up for distribution in communion.²⁵⁸

Such allusions are only implicit when the vision was first represented. Later, when the scene comes to include an altar beneath the portrayal of the vision, and, lower still, a depiction of Arius being swallowed by a dragon, it evidently refers to the schism introduced by Arius into the Church following his denial of the divinity of the Son. The presence of an altar suggests a further reference to the controversies on the Eucharist which marked the period when this new version of the scene first appears, in the liturgical roll Jerusalem, Stavrou 109.²⁵⁹ There are many signs that, as the memory of Iconoclasm faded, there was recrudescence of interest in Arianism, the archetypal heresy, to which all others were assimilated.²⁶⁰

When the Vision of Peter of Alexandria was represented in the chapel of the prothesis, the Christ child no longer floats above the altar, but actually stands on it. This change may have been inspired by the practice, already established, of signifying the consecrated species by the Christ child. Since the same scene was also represented beside pictures of the first council of Nicaea, Peter of Alexandria was revered as a defender of orthodox doctrine.²⁶¹ In later Christological controversies questions had again been raised about Christ's nature, with particular reference to the consecrated species. The picture in the chapel of the prothesis was therefore a reminder to those about to celebrate that any deviation from orthodox teaching on the Eucharist incurred the risk of lapsing into Arianism.

12. Christ as universal patriarch

The developments in apse programmes described in the preceding pages have been explained in terms of theological trends in the Byzantine Church: an ever increasing preoccupation with the Eucharist and the need to affirm, when it was disputed, orthodox doctrine. Further developments occurred in the last centuries of the

257. Aubineau, 'Dossier patristique,' 32-33.

258. *Ibid.*, 33; Cyril of Alexandria, in *Johannem* 12, PG 74, 660.

259. Grabar, 'Rouleau liturgique,' 479, pl. 132 a.

260. I. Dujčev, 'I Bogomili nei paesi slavi e la loro storia,' *Medioevo bizantino-slavo* I (Rome, 1965), 267-268, *Addenda*, 554-555.

261. Walter, *Conciles*, 246-248.

Byzantine epoch. They follow logically from those which preceded them. However, some further explanation for them is necessary. It seems that they reflect a profound change in the balance of power within Byzantine society. The clergy were becoming more powerful than the emperor. At the same time, there was a renewal of interest in the hierarchies of Dionysius the Areopagite. The principal consequences in iconography were the representation of Christ as a bishop rather than as an emperor, and the creation of a new scene, modelled on the Great Entrance, commonly known as the Celestial Liturgy.

i. *The communion of the apostles*

There had always been variant forms of the Communion of the Apostles.²⁶² The scene is represented differently in two manuscripts which were illuminated at about the same time in the monastery of Saint John Studius. The miniature in the Theodore Psalter, f. 152, copies a model in an earlier marginal Psalter.²⁶³ Christ is represented only once, standing frontally at the altar and distributing the bread. To the right, an apostle drinks directly from the chalice. In the miniature in *Paris. graec.* 74, f. 156^v, Christ is represented twice, distributing both the bread and the wine.²⁶⁴ This was the form more commonly used in apse decoration.

However, here too there was variety. In Saint Michael the Archangel, Kiev (1108), Christ leaves the altar to give communion, while Saint Peter holds out his hands, one crossed over the other, to receive the bread.²⁶⁵ In Saint John, Zemen (after 1354), Saint Peter kisses Christ's hand as he receives the bread, while the wine is offered by Christ not from a chalice but from a narrow-necked vessel.²⁶⁶ The apostles sometimes exchange the kiss of peace as in Saint Constantine, Svekani (13th century).²⁶⁷

The introduction of angel deacons into the Communion of the Apostles was an 11th-century innovation.²⁶⁸ Usually they hold

262. See above, 184ff.

263. Der Nersessian, *Theodore Psalter*, 52, fig. 244.

264. H. Omont, *Evangelies avec peintures du 11^e siècle* (Paris, no date), fig. 133.

265. Lazarev, *Pittura bizantina*, 196, pls. 285–287.

266. Elka Bakalova, 'Sur la peinture bulgare de la seconde moitié de 14^e siècle,' *Moravska škola i njeno doba*, ed. V. Djurić (Belgrade, 1972), 70, fig. 16.

267. P. Miljković-Pepelj, 'Contribution' (note 172), 194, fig. 11; *idem*, 'Crkvata Sv. Konstantin kod selo Svekani,' *Simpozium 1100-godišnja od smrti na Kiril Solunski I* (Skopje 1970), 156–160, figs. 5, 9.

268. See below, 232.

rhypidia, but they may also hold tapers, as in Saint Nikita, Čučer (fig. 60).²⁶⁹ Their presence was not absolutely necessary, for they were omitted at Zemen, and on an icon in the Peribleptos, Ohrid.²⁷⁰

The scene maintains its habitual place below the conch of the apse. In the 14th century, an effort was sometimes made to bring the Last Supper, although it figured in the Festival or Passion cycle, into proximity, as, for example, at Staro Nagoričino (1316–1318) and in Saint Andrew, Treska (1388/9).²⁷¹ Twice the Last Supper was placed in the centre of the apse, next to the Communion of the Apostles, at Ubisi, Georgia (fig. 61), and in the post-Byzantine church at Savina, Montenegro.²⁷²

Variety in the details reflects contemporary use, and the pre-occupation with ritual apparent in pictures of other ceremonies. It does not modify the significance of the scene. This is not the case with the changes introduced into Christ's costume. Traditionally Christ wears a tunic and mantle, leaving his right arm free for the distribution of communion. In Saint Nikita, Čučer (before 1316), for the first time he wears over his tunic a long vestment with wide, short sleeves; it is decorated with crosses.²⁷³ In Saint Nicolas Orphanus, Thessaloniki (ca. 1325), Christ's vestment is more ornate: the sleeves are long, and the crosses decorating it are placed in circles.²⁷⁴ The vestment is the patriarchal *sakkos*.²⁷⁵ The change did not at once become general; for example at Staro Nagoričino Christ still wears a tunic and mantle. Nevertheless it progressively imposed itself, and was extended to other pictures of Christ. In the church of the Archangel, Lesnovo (1349), Christ wears an *omophorion* over his *sakkos*.²⁷⁶ He presides over the whole apse, standing behind an altar with his arms outstretched. On the altar are a paten, covered with an asterisk, a chalice and a liturgical roll, which is inscribed

269. P. Miljkovic-Pepck, *Deloto na zografite Mihailo i Eutihij* (Skopje, 1967), pls. 112, 113; Walter, 'Place des évêques' (note 151), 88, figs. 15, 16.

270. Bakalova, 'Sur la peinture bulgare' (note 266); P. Miljkovic-Pepck, 'Une icône de la Communion des Apôtres,' *Charisterion A. K. Orlandos III* (Athens, 1966), 395–409.

271. Djuric, *Vizantijske Freske*, 51, 86.

272. Thierry, 'Programmes absidaux,' 19, fig. 18; V. Djurić, *Savina* (Belgrade, 1977).

273. See note 269.

274. Xyngopoulos, *Nicolas Orphanus*, pls. 72–73. For further 15th-century examples, Subotić, *Ohridska slikarstva* (note 227), *passim*.

275. See above, 16–19.

276. Walter, 'Place des évêques' (note 151), 87, fig. 14; Djurić, *Vizantijske Freske*, 65; Trempelas, *Three Liturgies*, 22. A second picture of Christ in a *sakkos* is situated in a niche in the chapel of the prothesis, Petković, *Peinture serbe* (note 250), pl. 124 b.

Blagosloveno (fig. 63). This is the first word of the doxology, with which the liturgy opens.

Yet more original is the apse scene at Ravanica (*ca.* 1387).²⁷⁷ Here Christ, similarly dressed and with his arms outstretched, stands in front of the altar, at which the apostles are receiving communion. However Christ is not distributing it to them. This office falls to two priests wearing an *epitrachelion* but not a *phelonion*. The one to the left, distributing the bread, is represented with a wing, and is consequently an angel. The one to the right, distributing the wine, is apparently a mortal being.

Other than in liturgical scenes, Christ was not represented in episcopal vestments, with one exception. This is the picture in the church of the Transfiguration, Kovalyovo, near Novgorod, illustrating Psalm 44,9: 'The queen at thy right hand.'²⁷⁸ The scene is a variant of the Deësis, in which the Virgin stands to the right of Christ who is enthroned and wearing a *sakkos*. However, in post-Byzantine art, the practice would become general.²⁷⁹ Christ was now accepted as being the universal patriarch rather than the universal emperor.

ii. *The celestial liturgy*

In Byzantine churches the uppermost zone of the vertical axis was reserved for scenes set in heaven. In pre-Iconoclast churches this zone comprised the conch of the apse, the architrave of the triumphal arch and the roof. When a cupola was constructed, this naturally became the uppermost zone. Scenes set in heaven were moved up there. The apocalyptic pictures of Christ, which were represented in the uppermost zone, are often called, rightly or wrongly, the Celestial *Maiestas*.²⁸⁰ These scenes derive from imperial rather than church ceremonial. The principal worshippers are angels who wear imperial costume. On the ceiling of the sanctuary in the church of the Dormition, Nicaea, they were placed either side of the Hetoimasia, holding standards on which were inscribed the words: 'Holy, holy holy.'²⁸¹ In other scenes of

277. V. Djurić, 'Ravanički živopis u liturgiji,' *Manastir Ravanica spomenici o šestoj stogodišnjici* (Belgrade, 1981), 53–67, figs. 4–5.

278. Lazarev, *Old Russian Murals*, fig. 74.

279. Mirjana Tatić-Djurić, 'Icône signée de Constantin Zgouras avec représentation du Christ grand archevêque,' *Proceedings of the 1st International Congress of Peloponnesian Studies II* (Athens, 1976), 211–219.

280. Ihm, *Apsismalerei*, 42–51.

281. See above, note 64.

adoration angels were also imperially dressed. In chapel 28 at Bawit, where they are placed either side of the Virgin and Child, they hold censers, which are the only details in the scene taken from church ritual.²⁸²

The change in the manner of representing angels took place, as has been already noted, when they were introduced into scenes of the Communion of the Apostles in the 11th century. Their imperial vestments were replaced by the *sticharion* and *orarion* of deacons, and their standards by *rhypidia*. In the two miniatures which illustrate the prayer of the proscomide in the liturgical roll Jerusalem Stavrou 109, angels are taking part in the Eucharist and again are dressed as deacons (fig. 59).²⁸³ In the left hand margin the angel forming the initial letter 'K' holds a censer. Its presence may be explained by a rubric first attested in a 10th century manuscript of John Chrysostom's liturgy, Leningrad 226: 'once the gifts had been placed on the altar, they were incensed by a deacon.'²⁸⁴ In the right hand margin the angel holds the gifts on its head. This is the earliest picture inspired by the ceremonial of the Great Entrance. It probably illustrates the petition in the prayer of the proscomide, asking God 'to enable us to present these gifts.'²⁸⁵

The earliest picture of the Celestial Liturgy modelled on the Great Entrance is in the cupola of the Panagia Olympiotissa (ca. 1296).²⁸⁶ Two files of angels, carrying the gifts and liturgical vessels, converge upon an empty throne. In structure it closely resembles the processional scenes in the Ravenna baptisteries, in which two files of apostles converge upon a throne and Hetoimasia.²⁸⁷ These scenes were probably inspired by an ancient baptismal rite, the procession

282. Ihm, *Apsismalerei*, 203, fig. 18 i.

283. Grabar, 'Rouleau liturgique,' 477-478, pl. 128. The assumption that the two angels belong to the scene above and that the whole illustrates the prayer of the proscomide has provoked much sterile discussion as to its possible significance. See above, note 149. For the angels, taken by themselves, there is no great problem. In their form, they resemble the other illustrations to prayers in this manuscript. Grabar correctly observed that the miniature above the prayer of the proscomide is unique, in that it occupies the whole space reserved for the text and is framed. However, he did not infer that the miniature is a frontispiece to the whole of the text which follows, that is to say to the Anaphora, which begins at this point. The scene is a variant of the Communion of the Apostles, and Christ is reciting the prayers of the Anaphora.

284. Taft, *Great Entrance*, 154-157.

285. *Ibid.*, 360-364.

286. The painting is unpublished. For the date, M. Chatzidakis, 'Aspects de la peinture murale du 13^e siècle en Grèce,' *L'art byzantin au 13^e siècle*, ed. V. Djurić (Belgrade, 1967), 71.

287. Deichmann, *Frühchristliche Bauten*, fig. 251; *idem*, *Ravenna Hauptstadt I*, 209-210, II i, 254-255.

of the neophytes to the great bema.²⁸⁸ Curiously, although the drum of the cupola lent itself to processional scenes, they had not been represented there for nearly a millenium. Then, in the late 13th century, the echelon of angels, making up an imperial guard around the Christ Pantocrator, was in its turn galvanized and converted into a liturgical scene.²⁸⁹

Examples are numerous from the 14th century onwards, when the Celestial Liturgy had become a regular scene in cupola programmes. It was represented in Saints Joachim and Anna, Studenica (1314).²⁹⁰ At Gračanica (after 1320) and in the Bogorodica, Peć (ca. 1330), it has undergone the influence of the scene of officiating bishops, for the Christ child is placed on the altar, covered in the latter church by an asterisk.²⁹¹ With the passage of time the Celestial Liturgy tends to resemble the Great Entrance procession ever more exactly, such that, in the 16th-century painting at Dochiariou, there is a precise concordance between the iconographical details and the prescriptions of liturgical rubrics.²⁹²

In 14th-century cupola pictures Christ does not always stand at the altar, ready to receive the gifts, probably because he was already represented in the *clipeus* above. However, at Ravanica (ca. 1387) he is present, wearing a patriarchal *sakkos* and holding a censer (fig. 62).²⁹³ He is also present in representations of the Celestial Liturgy placed elsewhere, in the chapel of the prothesis in the Peribleptos (ca. 1350), in the apse of the Pantanassa, Mistra (1428, restored),²⁹⁴ and on the Xeropotamou paten (fig. 64).²⁹⁵

The hierarchy of celebrations was now complete: saintly bishops, apostles and angels. In Byzantine iconography they were clearly

288. Gregory of Nazianzus, Homily 40, *In sanctum baptisma*, PG 36, 425.

289. Kl. Wessel, 'Himmlische Liturgie,' *RBK* III, 119–131 (a full account with extensive bibliography); E. Lucchesi-Palli, 'Liturgie himmlische,' *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie* III, 103–106. The legend which accompanies Byzantine representations is regularly *Theia Leitourgia* (Divine Liturgy).

290. Millet, *Peinture en Yougoslavie* III, pl. 122i.

291. Hamann-MacLean & Hallensleben, *Monumentalmalerei*, fig. 325; A. L. Townsley, 'Eucharistic Doctrine and the Liturgy in Late Byzantine Painting,' *Oriens Christianus* 58 (1974), 148–150, figs. 9, 11–14; Petković, *Peinture serbe* (note 250), II (Belgrade, 1934), pls. 103, 105.

292. G. Millet, *Les monuments de l'Athos*, I, *Les peintures* (Paris, 1927), pls. 218 ii, 219 iii; Symeon of Thessaloniki, *Expositio de divino templo* 70, 76–79, PG 155, 724, 728–729; *idem*, *De sacra liturgia* 98, PG 155, 296–297; Taft, *Great Entrance*, 210–213.

293. Djurić, 'Ravanički živopis' (note 277), 53–67, fig. 7.

294. Dufrenne, *Mistra*, 25–26, 32.

295. *Treasures* I, 317; see above, 82 note 290.

distinguished, although there was interpenetration. The complex of signs for all the celebrations derives from the rites of the Byzantine Church. It was also believed that a kind of synchronisation existed between the terrestrial and celestial celebrations. The Cherubicon, sung at the Great Entrance, invites those 'who mystically represent the Cherubim . . . (to) lay aside all worldly care to receive the King of All, escorted unseen by the angelic corps.'²⁹⁶ Nicolas of Andida observed that the earthly celebrant pronounced certain words—the Trisagion, the Alleluia, the Cherubicon—in the name of the angels.²⁹⁷

A remarkable and unique apse programme may now be adduced, in which are combined the scenes of the officiating bishops and the Celestial Liturgy. It was painted in the church of the monastery of Markov (1376–1381).²⁹⁸ The action begins on the north wall of the chapel of the prothesis, where two bishops are inclined; one holds a book, the other a roll inscribed with the first phrase of the prayer of the prothesis.²⁹⁹ In the centre of the apse of this chapel the dead Christ is represented on the altar (fig. 66). To his left stands Peter of Alexandria, for once wearing a cap.³⁰⁰ He holds a book on which is inscribed a phrase from Isaiah 53,7: 'As a lamb is dumb,' which was recited in the rite of the prothesis.³⁰¹ To the right stands a saintly deacon incensing the dead Christ, another detail taken from the rite. Inside the central apse, the scene takes on the aspect of the Great Entrance. Bishops and angels bring together offerings and liturgical vessels (fig. 65). Among the bishops may be recognized the Three Hierarchs. Christ himself, wearing patriarchal vestments, stands behind the altar on which is placed an open book inscribed with a legend; unfortunately the letters are mostly obliterated.³⁰² Offerings are also brought to the altar from the other side. Beyond, in the diaconicon, there are other saintly bishops holding rolls,

296. Taft, *Great Entrance*, 54–56.

297. *Protheoria*, PG 140, 426, 440, 442.

298. C. Grozdanov, 'Iz ikonografije Markovog Manastira,' *Zograf* 11 (1981).

299. See appendix: Rite of the Prothesis, 234 below.

300. See above, 105.

301. 'I jako agnec poročen . . .,' see appendix: Rite of the Prothesis, 235 below.

302. Logically Christ should be reciting the prayer of the Cherubicon or of the proskomide. However, the remaining letters correspond to neither. If, as seems possible, he is reciting the prayer for the ruler, which follows the prayer of the proskomide, then an interesting connection could be established between the apse programme and the founder of the monastery.

which are inscribed with the first words of the ensuing prayers in the liturgy.

The influence of the ideas of Dionysius the Areopagite may be discerned in other decorative programmes than the hierarchy of Eucharistic celebrations.³⁰³ The Palamite controversies on the ways in which the human intellect may attain to knowledge of God favoured the creation and spread of symbolical scenes. However, the Eucharistic scenes best present the way in which the structure of the Church Triumphant was conceived by late Byzantine theologians. All depends on him whom an emperor, John II Comnenus (1118–1143), had called the Archpriest of the *oikoumene*.³⁰⁴ God the Father, Symeon of Thessaloniki was later to explain, had consecrated Christ. He, in his turn, consecrated the apostles, and they consecrated the bishops.³⁰⁵ Yet whether they conceived the terrestrial liturgy, with Theodore of Mopsuestia, to be the similitude of celestial realities is a moot point.³⁰⁶ It seems rather that they conceived the celestial liturgy to be the similitude of terrestrial realities.

13. Terrestrial Church and celestial Church

Late Byzantine apse programmes are as remarkable for what they omit as for what they include. The Eucharistic scenes proclaim orthodox doctrine in its broad lines, avoiding subtleties and side issues. They do not allude to the place of the emperor in the divine providential plan, for all scenes concerned with the *oikoumene* had

303. Gordana Babić, 'Ikongrafski program živopisa u pripratama crkava kralja Milutina,' *Vizantijska Umetnost Početkom XIV Veka*, ed. S. Petković (Belgrade, 1978), 105–126.

304. Letter, *Neos Hellenomnemon* 10 (1913), 109–111.

305. *De sacris ordinationibus* 139–140, PG 155, 455–462.

306. Townsley, 'Eucharistic Doctrine' (note 291), makes interesting comparisons between passages in the writings of Theodore of Mopsuestia and the iconography of the Celestial Liturgy, without, however, explaining how the relationship would have been established. A typical passage: 'Chaque fois qu'est accomplie la liturgie de ce sacrifice redoutable—qui est manifestement la similitude des réalités célestes..., il nous faut nous représenter en notre conscience, comme en "phantasmes", que nous sommes qui est au ciel... Et puisque Notre-Seigneur le Christ s'est offert lui-même pour nous en sacrifice, et ainsi devint effectivement pour nous un grand-prêtre, c'est une image de ce pontife-là qu'il faut penser que représente celui-ci, qui est maintenant proche de l'autel... C'est comme en une sorte d'image qu'il accomplit la "liturgie" de ce sacrifice ineffable, [image] au moyen de laquelle c'est une représentation de ces ineffables réalités célestes.' Translation from the Syriac, *Les homélies catéchétiques de Théodore de Mopsueste*, 15, Première sur la messe, ed. R. Tonneau & R. Devreesse (Vatican, 1945), 497.

long been relegated to the narthex. Nor do they allude directly to the theological issues which were currently matters of controversy with the Latins. This is the more surprising because theologians who wrote sublimely about the Eucharist like Nicolas of Andida and Nicolas Cabasilas were also pamphleteers; they had much to say about the use of leavened or unleavened bread and about the invocation of the Holy Spirit in the prayer of the Epiclesis.

So far as the Latins were concerned, the principle of omission also extended to the choice of saintly bishops to figure in the apse. Bishops of Rome were not treated in later churches as generously as they had been in Saint Sophia, Ohrid. Only Clement, Sylvester and Leo were occasionally allotted a place.³⁰⁷ Others like Martin, Agathon and Gregory Dialogus, who were commemorated in the Constantinopolitan Synaxary and even portrayed in miniatures, find no place in apse echelons.³⁰⁸ Another significant omission is Ambrose of Milan. He was venerated for his doughty resistance to Theodosius, commemorated in the Synaxary, accepted by Photius as a true Greek and even allotted a place in the Metaphrastic collection of Lives, but still does not figure in apse programmes.³⁰⁹

Within the Constantinopolitan communion local predilection was sometimes allowed to influence the choice of bishops, as it had already done in 10th-century Cappadocia.³¹⁰ Saintly bishops whose sees had been in Cyprus—Lazarus, Spyridon and Epiphanius—recur more frequently there. The same is true for Achilles of Larissa and Oecumenius of Trikkia in the region of Kastoria, Prespa and Ohrid. Local tradition particularly favoured the inclusion of Clement and Constantine Cabasilas in churches which fell under the jurisdiction of Ohrid.³¹¹ Similarly Sava and Arsenije readily found a place in the apses of Serbian churches.

The honour was greater—and the ecclesiological significance clearer—when local saintly bishops were permitted to concelebrate

307. Clement: Walter, 'Saint Clement,' 251 note 1; Sylvester: Saint Sophia, Kiev, Hosios Loukas, Daphni, Sopoćani, Saint Nicolas Orphanus at Thessaloniki, Staro Nagoričino, Dečani, Bela Crkva, Karan; Leo: Kılıçlar kilise, new church of Tokalı, Saints Cosmas and Damian and the Taxiarchs at Kastoria, Perachorio, Staro Nagoričino, Dečani.

308. Martin and Agathon: *Vatican. graec.* 1613, 40, 417; Gregory Dialogus: *Mosquen. graec.* 183, f. 200.

309. *Vatican. graec.* 1613, 227; *Vatican. graec.* 1156 f. 270^v. Letter of Photius, see above, note 44; *Metaphrastic Life*, PL 14, 45–65, *BHG* 69, illustrated with a portrait, *Ambrosian. E* 89 Inf. (1017), see above, 50 note 98.

310. See appendix: 10th-century Cappadocian Churches, 231 below.

311. See above, 17 note 75; 108 notes 120, 121.

with the great doctors of the Church. The list of those represented in the scene of officiating bishops was fluid, although preference was given, after the authors of the liturgies, to Athanasius and Cyril of Alexandria, Gregory of Nazianzus and Nicolas of Myra. If there was stabilization, it was no doubt related to the same move in the rite of the prothesis. The names of those invoked when particles were separated from the *prosporphai* varies considerably in 14th-century Euchologia, although preference was given to the same bishops. Ultimately the list was standardized and the number reduced to five.³¹²

Among ancient local saintly bishops who were admitted to concelebration were: Epiphanius in the Hermitage of Neophytus, Cyprus;³¹³ Achilles of Larissa in the churches of Saint George, Kurbinovo, Saints Constantine and Helena, Ohrid, and the Hypapante, Meteora;³¹⁴ Oecumenius of Triikka again in the Hypapante, Meteora;³¹⁵ Asterius of Durazzo at Rubik, Albania.³¹⁶ An analogous case is that of Cyril the Philosopher, Apostle of the Slavs, at Berende, Staničenje, and the rock church of the Dormition at Kalište, Ohrid.³¹⁷ The Clement in the last church is probably Clement of Ohrid. The inclusion of more recent bishops among the celebrants was rare, except in Serbia. It is not clear why Michael Choniates of Athens (died *ca.* 1222) should have been represented in Saint Peter, Kalyvia-Kouvara,³¹⁸ nor John of Thebes (12th century) in the crypt of Saint Nicolas, Kambia, in Boeotia.³¹⁹ However, Sava had founded the Serbian Church, which justified his assimilation to the great doctors in the Holy Apostles, Peć (*ca.* 1263), at Sopoćani with his successor Arsenije (*ca.* 1265), and in the Bogorodica, Peć (before 1337).

Since so few examples may be adduced, it is reasonable to infer that apse programmes were intended to be strictly doctrinal. The

312. See appendix: Rite of the Prothesis, 237 below.

313. Babić & Walter, 'Inscriptions upon Liturgical Rolls' (note 154), no. 6.

314. *Ibid.*, nos. 8, 31, 37.

315. *Ibid.*, no. 31.

316. Desanka Milošević, 'Ikonografija svetoga Save u srednjem veku,' *Sava Nemanjić—Sveti Sava, Istorija i predanje*, ed. V. Djurić (Belgrade, 1979), 288–290.

317. See above, 107–108 notes 120, 121.

318. Nafsika Coumbaraki-Panselinou, *Saint Pierre de Kalivia-Kouvara et la chapelle de la Vierge de Mérenta* (Thessaloniki, 1976), 67–70, pls. 11–12; V. Djurić, 'Sveti Sava Srpski—novi Ignjatije Bogonosac i drugi Kiril,' *ZLU* 15 (1979), 100, fig. 3. The legend calls Michael Choniates *Panierotatos*, not *Hagios*.

319. Milošević, 'Ikonografija Save' (note 316), 290.

claims of the terrestrial Church were better proclaimed in the narthex. This was the proper place for such pictures, particularly for those concerned with the *oikoumene*. Apart from the mosaics in Saint Sophia, no examples of official imagery in the narthex of Constantinopolitan churches have survived. However, in the written sources, there are several allusions to the series of portraits of emperors and patriarchs in the narthex of Saint George at the Mangana, built in the reign of Constantine IX Monomachus (1042–1055).³²⁰ It was one of the marvels included in the Oracles attributed to Leo the Wise. Among the portraits of patriarchs was that of Neophytus, elected 1154 but never consecrated.³²¹ The example was followed in Serbia, where series of local bishops were painted in the episcopal churches of Arilje, Prizren and Bijelo Polje. The practice was suspended when the Serbian Church claimed patriarchal status in 1346, but later resumed at Peć, after the restoration of the patriarchate in 1557, in order to proclaim its independence from the jurisdiction of Ohrid.³²²

The practice of representing ecumenical councils in the narthex of churches was also widespread from the end of the 13th century.³²³ Again no examples in Constantinople have survived, although the practice probably began and continued there. The nearest analogy would be the decree promulgated by a synod held under Manuel I Comnenus in 1166.³²⁴ It was inscribed on a tablet, which has survived. The tablet was displayed at the entrance to Saint Sophia. Once again it was in Serbia that this custom was adapted to the needs of the local church. At Arilje and elsewhere, pictures of local synods were painted beside those of ecumenical councils.³²⁵

A final example is also peculiar to Serbia: the Nemanjić Family

320. C. Mango, 'The Legend of Leo the Wise,' *ZRVI* 6 (1960), 76–77.

321. The picture was cited in the controversy over the triple episcopate of Matthew I, see above, 134–135. The unpublished passage in *Paris. graec.* 1378, f. 23, transcribed by V. Laurent, reads as follows: *Τοῖς δὲ συντρέχει καὶ ἡ κατὰ τὴν σεβασμίαν μονὴν τῶν Μαγγάνων εἰκὼν, ἐν ᾗ ἱστοροῦνται πάντες οἱ ἱεράρχαι Κωνσταντινοπόλεως, οἷς καὶ συνιστόρηται καὶ δοσιφύριος δνόματι Νεόφυτος, ὃς καὶ κατὰ τὴν γραφὴν καὶ κατεβλήθη.*

322. Gordana Babić, 'Nizovi portreta srpskih episkopa, arhiepiskopa i patrijaraha u zidnom slikarstvu,' *Sava Nemanjić* (note 316), 322–329.

323. Walter, *Conciles*, *passim*. The earliest example (12th century) is at Gelati, Lazarev, *Pittura bizantina*, 219, 263 note 158.

324. C. Mango, 'The Conciliar Edict of 1166,' *DOP* 17 (1963), 315–330; Walter, *Conciles*, 143.

325. Djurić, 'Istorijske kompozicije,' *ZRVI* 10 (1967), 131–148; Walter, *Conciles*, 109–110, 115–117.

Tree. Modelled on the Jesse Tree, it presents the members of the family as issuing from Symeon Nemanja—both those who exercised civil power and the Serbian archbishops.³²⁶

Appendix I Tenth-century churches in Cappadocia

Particularly over the last two decades the pioneer studies undertaken by Guillaume de Jerphanion of the rock churches of Cappadocia have been enriched by the publication of new churches unknown to him or the republication of those on which, for various reasons, his observations were inadequate.³²⁷ However, this vast and important documentation is difficult to exploit in the present study. The principal difficulty is the lack of historical information about these churches. The literary sources are virtually silent about Cappadocia during the period from Iconoclasm to the 11th century. Rarely does an inscription provide an objective dating for a church. The art historian has therefore to rely almost entirely on internal evidence: the style and iconography of the paintings.

De Jerphanion distinguished three main stylistic groups: *archaïque* (first half of the 10th century), *macédonien classicisant* (second half of the 10th century), *macédonien byzantinisant* (first half of the 11th century). He was prepared to date a few churches much earlier, even to the period of Iconoclasm. Some art historians follow him in this, while others are sceptical.³²⁸ A few churches may be dated much later, to the 13th century, for, if there is an objective date in the history of Cappadocia, it is that of the capture by the Seljuks of Caesarea (Kayseri) in 1067, after which artistic activity was suspended for more than a century.

While de Jerphanion's chronology continues to find favour with art historians, there is room for differences of opinion as to the precise order in which to situate the churches. Notably, the important

326. V. Djurić, 'Loza Nemanjića u starom srpskom slikarstvu,' *Zbornik Radova, I Kongres saveza društava istoričara umetnosti SFRJ* (Ohrid, 1976), 53–55.

327. Bibliography to 1968, Nicole Thierry, 'Notes critiques à propos des peintures rupestres de Cappadoce,' *REB* 26 (1968), 337–371, reprinted *Peintures; Arts de Cappadoce*, ed. L. Giovannini (Geneva, 1971).

328. The principal upholder of early datings is Nicole Thierry. For a more sceptical approach, Ann Wharton Epstein, 'The "Iconoclast" Churches of Cappadocia,' *Iconoclasm*, 103–111.

church of Kılıçlar was first dated by de Jerphanion to the beginning of the 10th century, in which he is followed by Thierry and Restlé.³²⁹ Later, however, he reattributed it to the end of the 10th century.³³⁰

Cappadocian churches are almost the only source of information about decorative programmes in the 10th century. Yet the question must be left open whether they provide a secure basis for establishing what programmes were currently used in churches as public buildings. The majority of them were votive chapels, in which monks would pray for the souls of the patrons who commissioned them. Consequently, in the choice of themes the criterion of intercession was usually determinant. It is in Cappadocia that the earliest evidence is available of the transformation of the Deësis from a 'visionary' to an 'intercessory' theme.³³¹ The selection of saints for representation seems to reflect personal preferences as much as the use of established lists. Notably, among saintly bishops, there is an unusually high proportion of those whose see was in Asia Minor; some of them are rarely represented elsewhere.

Unfortunately, for tracing 10th-century developments in apse programmes, to the difficulty that an objective chronology of the churches is hardly possible must be added another: apses have suffered particularly from dilapidation, so that their decoration is rarely if ever complete. Taken in all, the chief importance of Cappadocian churches for the present study is that they provide evidence that the renewal of apse programmes, dated and attested in the 11th century, began earlier, even if it had not yet been systematized.

There now follows a list of the more significant churches.

1. *Tavşanlı kilise*

The church is dated by an inscription to the years 913–920.³³² In the apse is an apocalyptic picture of Christ. The personages below him and in the medallions around the vault can no longer be identified. On the left pier at the entrance to the sanctuary are three bishops, but only one name is legible: Epiphanius.

329. De Jerphanion, *Eglises rupestres* I, 203–204; Thierry, 'Programmes absidaux,' 15 note 38; Restlé, *Byzantinische Wandmalerei* I, 130–131, no. xxiv, fig. 277.

330. De Jerphanion, *op. cit.* II, 418.

331. Thierry, 'Programmes absidaux,' *passim*.

332. De Jerphanion, *Eglises rupestres* II, 78–79; Restlé, *Byzantinische Wandmalerei* I, 151–152, no. xxxix, figs. 388–402.

2. *Ayvalı kilise (Güllü Dere 4-5)*

The church is dated by an inscription probably referring to the years 913–920.³³³ In the apse, above the enthroned Virgin, is an apocalyptic picture of Christ. Below, there was a series of portraits of bishops, many of whom are obliterated. On the north side, however, Amphilocius of Iconium, Eusebius of Samosata, Peter of Alexandria, Theodotus of Ancyra or Theophylact of Nicomedia, Hypatius of Gangra (?), Spyridon, Clement of Ancyra or Rome, may be identified. The north chapel (Güllü Dere 5) has a funerary programme. On the east wall of the arch before the apse, figure, among other saints, two bishops, one of whom is Phocas of Sinope. In the passage between the two chapels are further portraits of saints, including Nicolas and Nicander of Myra, Amphilocius of Iconium and Paul of Constantinople.

3. *Yılanlı kilise (Peristrema 8)*

A 9th- or 10th-century date has been proposed for this church.³³⁴ In the apse, above the enthroned Virgin, is an apocalyptic picture of Christ. On the wall of the eastern arm John Chrysostom figures with John the Baptist and some martyrs. In the vault of the north arm are Basil and Gregory of Nazianzus (?), and in that of the south arm Athenogenes of Armenia and Nicolas of Myra.

4. *Chapel near Elmalı kilise (Göreme 15a)*

A late 9th- or 10th-century date has been proposed for this church.³³⁵ In the apse is an apocalyptic picture of Christ. The Virgin has been displaced to the north niche. Below Christ are fragments of three portraits of bishops: Blasius of Sebaste, Germanus of Constantinople, Nicolas of Myra (?).

333. Nicole & M. Thierry, 'Ayvalı kilise ou pigeonier de Güllü Dere, église inédite de Cappadoce,' *CA* 15 (1964), 97–154; Restlé, *op. cit.* I, 139–140, nos. xxix–xxx, figs. 333–341.

334. Nicole & M. Thierry, *Nouvelles églises rupestres de Cappadoce* (Paris, 1963), 89–114; Restlé, *op. cit.* I, 171–172, no. lvii, figs. 498–506; Jacqueline Lafontaine-Dosogne, 'Nouvelles notes cappadociennes,' *Byz* 33 (1963), 162–165.

335. De Jerphanion, *Eglises rupestres* I, 145–146; Restlé, *op. cit.* I, 189, no. lxxvi; Nicole Thierry, 'Quelques églises inédites en Cappadoce,' *Journal des Savants*, octobre-décembre 1965, 625–627; G. P. Schiemenz, 'Verschollene Malerei in Göreme: Die archaische Kapelle bei Elmalı kilise,' *OCP* 34 (1968), 70–96.

5. *Holy Apostles, Sinasos (Mustafa Paşa köy)*

This church is usually attributed to the first half of the 10th century.³³⁶ In the apse is an apocalyptic picture of Christ. Below are the portraits of a number of saints, one of whom is a bishop, Nicolas of Myra. On the pier before the sanctuary to the south side is another bishop, Lucian of Antioch.

6. *Church of the Three Crosses (Güllü Dere 3)*

This church is generally dated to the first half of the 10th century.³³⁷ In the apse is an apocalyptic picture of Christ. Below, is a series of portraits in which figure, with angels and apostles, four bishops: John Chrysostom, Gregory of Nazianzus, Basil and Agathangelus. This last is represented again on the pier to the north of the apse, wearing vestments whose style in the 10th century would be archaic. A saintly bishop Agathangelus of Damascus appears in the Synaxary but is not represented elsewhere.

7. *Saint Eustathius (Göreme 11)*

De Jerphanion associated this church with that of Tavşanlı (no. 1).³³⁸ In the apse is an apocalyptic picture of Christ. Below, are the apostles with John the Baptist. In the vault of the nave are the prophets, while the martyrs occupy the south wall and the bishops the north wall of the nave. The identity of the bishops is uncertain, apart from John Chrysostom, and Modestus of Jerusalem who was added later. It should be noted that the echelons are disposed hierarchically.

8. *Balık kilise, Soğanlı*

De Jerphanion suggested that this church was decorated by a less competent pupil of the artist responsible for Saint Eustathius (no. 7).³³⁹ It has two apses. In one, the apocalyptic Christ is reduced

336. De Jerphanion, *op. cit.* II, 59–77; Restlé, *op. cit.* I, 152–153, no. xl, figs. 403–404.

337. De Jerphanion, *op. cit.* I, 592–594; Restlé, *op. cit.* I, 138–139, no. xxviii, figs. 333–339; Jacqueline Lafontaine-Dosogne, 'L'église aux trois croix de Güllü Dere en Cappadoce et le problème du passage du décor "iconoclaste" au décor figuré,' *Byz* 35 (1965), 175–207; *eadem*, 'Théophanies-visions dans l'art byzantin,' *Synthronon* (Paris, 1968), 135–145; Nicole Thierry, 'Les plus anciennes représentations cappadociennes du costume épiscopal byzantin,' *REB* 34 (1976), 329–330, reprinted *Peintures*.

338. De Jerphanion, *op. cit.* I, 147–170; Restlé, *op. cit.* I, 118–120, no. xiii, figs. 134–154.

339. De Jerphanion, *op. cit.* II, 250–270.

to a bust. Below him are the apostles. In the other, is the enthroned Virgin. Below her are various saints, including six bishops: Eutychius of Constantinople, Nicolas of Myra (?), Basil, John Chrysostom, Epiphanius and Gregory.

9. *Pürenli seki kilisesi (Peristrema 5)*

The church has been associated with the ones described above.³⁴⁰ In the apse, above the enthroned Virgin, is an apocalyptic picture of Christ. The saints appear in the body of the church: prophets in the vault, martyrs on the walls of the nave, and two bishops on the piers before the apse. One can be identified as Basil.

10. *Balkan Dere 3 or 4, Ortahisar*

This church has been associated with those described above.³⁴¹ Its programme is original in that Christ figures twice in bust form, once in the apse, accompanied by angels, and again in the cupola, accompanied by the apostles. Below Christ in the apse are portraits of eight bishops, six of whom were identified by de Jerphanion: Basil, Gregory of Nyssa, Gregory of Nazianzus, John Chrysostom, Nicolas and Athanasius. Further saints are represented in the nave, including other bishops, of whom only one was identified by de Jerphanion, as Gregory. It is in this church that there are remains of a cycle for Basil, based on the *Life* by the Pseudo-Amphilocius.

11. *Pigeon House of Çavuşin*

This church is associated by the imperial portrait in it with the visit of Nicephorus Phocas to Cappadocia in 964/5.³⁴² In the apse is an apocalyptic picture of Christ. Below, is a series of portraits of saints, including Germanus of Constantinople, Hypatius of Gangra, Proclus of Constantinople, Epiphanius and Blasius of Sebaste.

340. Restlé, *Byzantinische Wandmalerei* I, 169, no. liv, fig. 483; Thierry, *Nouvelles églises* (note 334), 137–153; Lafontaine-Dosogne, 'Nouvelles notes' (note 334), 165–166.

341. De Jerphanion, *Eglises rupestres* II, 50–56; Walter, 'Three Hierarchs,' 245–247, figs. 1–3, pl. I.

342. De Jerphanion, *op. cit.* I, 522ff; Restlé, *Byzantinische Wandmalerei* I, 134–137, no. xxvi.

12. *New Church of Tokalı kilise (Göreme 7)*

This church was dated by de Jerphanion earlier than Çavuşin.³⁴³ The paintings in the apses have largely perished. In the central apse there remains a large portrait of Basil, to whom the church was probably dedicated, for not only does his portrait recur again twice but also there was a biographical cycle based on the *Life* by the Pseudo-Amphilocius. In the north apse the Communion of Mary the Egyptian is represented along with the Hospitality of Abraham. Clipeate portraits of bishops figure between the arches of the nave: Meletius of Antioch or Cyprus, Eutychius of Constantinople, Leo of Rome, George of Constantinople, Peter of Alexandria, John the Almoner, Spyridon, Proclus of Constantinople, Lazarus, Parthenius of Lampsacus, Nicander of Myra, Leontius of Caesarea or Catania, Bucolus of Smyrna, Hypatius of Gangra, Theodotus of Cyrenia. Other bishops appear in *clipei* among other saints: Clement of Rome or Ancyra, Metrophanes of Constantinople, Athanasius, Tarasius of Constantinople, Eleutherius of Illyricum, Gregory of Agrigentum, Pausicacus of Synada, and possibly yet others.

13. *Bahattin samanlığı kilisesi (Peristrema 14)*

This church has been dated to the middle of the 10th century.³⁴⁴ In the apse Christ is enthroned between two angels and *clipeus* portraits of Saint Peter and Paul. He appears again on the triumphal arch in bust form in a *clipeus* carried by two angels. At the lower level of the apse are portraits of prophets and saints including bishops: Epiphanius, Amphilocius of Iconium, John Chrysostom, Gregory the Wonderworker. There are yet others who cannot be identified.

14. *Direkli kilise (Peristrema 15)*

This church has been dated to the last quarter of the 10th century.³⁴⁵ In the apse Christ is enthroned with angels, the Virgin

343. De Jerphanion, *op. cit.* I, 297 ff., II, 419; Restlé, *op. cit.* I, 110–117, no. x, figs. 61–123; R. Cormack, 'Byzantine Cappadocia: The Archaic Group of Wallpaintings,' *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 30 (1967), 31–36.

344. Thierry, *Nouvelles églises* (note 334), 154 ff.; Restlé, *op. cit.* I, 175–176, no. lxi, figs. 517–520.

345. Thierry, *Nouvelles églises*, 183ff.; Restlé, *op. cit.* I, 176–177, no. lxii; Lafontaine-Dosogne, 'Nouvelles notes' (note 334), 144.

and John the Baptist to left and right. There are also clipeate portraits of Saints Petēr and Paul. At the entrance to the apse around the arch are *clipei* of prophets. At the lower level stands the Virgin Orans, flanked by portraits of bishops, some of whom can be identified: Basil, Gregory the Wonderworker, Epiphanius, Blasius of Sebaste (?), Gregory of Nazianzus (?).

15. *Kılıçlar kilise (Göreme 29)*

This church was first dated by de Jerphanion to the beginning of the 10th century, but later to the end.³⁴⁶ In the apse there is an apocalyptic picture of Christ, largely destroyed. Below is a series of portraits of bishops: Leontius of Caesarea or Catania, Gregory of Nyssa, Gregory of Nazianzus, Athanasius, Blasius of Sebaste, Spyridon, Cyprian of Antioch (?), Nicephorus and Proclus of Constantinople, Ignatius of Antioch (?). In the north apse is represented the Communion of the Apostles.

Conclusion

Apse programmes remain remarkably stable in Cappadocia throughout the 10th century. The apocalyptic Christ was, indeed, to persist there, as well as in Georgia, long after it had been abandoned elsewhere except for funerary programmes. Only in two churches (nos. 13, 14) is the picture shorn of its apocalyptic trappings, suggesting that it was now expressly interpreted in an intercessory rather than a visionary sense. Concomitant with this modification in its meaning was the widening of the range of saints who might be represented. The influence of the Synaxary may be detected here. Even if the selection was personal, it was made among saints who were officially recognized. Many were obviously not 'visionaries', even if they figure among them, as, for example, the bishops in nos. 6 and 11. If the choice is any indication of the origins of the patrons, they came from many different regions: Jerusalem, Syria, Armenia, Constantinople, but, above all, from Asia Minor.

The notion of hierarchy is always implicit in the disposition of saints in the churches, although it is only applied rigorously in a few cases (nos. 7, 9). The programme of Ayvalı kilise (no. 2) provides evidence that the apse was already being reserved to bishops early in

346. See above, 226 notes 329, 330.

the century. Probably the practice began in churches intended for public worship. It certainly did not become general in the 10th century. The selection of bishops for this church is distinctly regional, as again in Direkli kilise (no. 14). Yet in Balkan Dere 3 (no. 10), only the great bishops, who would later figure in all apses, were chosen.

The great bishops also predominate in Kılıçlar kilise (no. 15), whose programme is, of all these churches, the most advanced. Elsewhere in Cappadocia, only the programme of the new church of Tokalı kilise (no. 12) announces that the sanctuary area would in due course be invaded by Eucharistic themes. If Kılıçlar kilise could be securely dated on any grounds to the beginning of the 10th century, then the presence of the Communion of the Apostles in a side apse would require a special explanation. However, de Jerphanion's change of opinion as to its date suggests that argument from style, in this case, is not conclusive. I find it surprising, had the Communion of the Apostles already been represented in a major Cappadocian church in the early 10th century, that the subject was not copied in other churches. On balance, therefore, I prefer a late 10th-century date for Kılıçlar kilise. The iconography of the Communion of the Apostles is still primitive. Angels do not figure in the scene, which is not incorporated into a structured Eucharistic programme. It is a harbinger rather than an anticipation of 11th-century developments.

Appendix II

The rite of the prothesis

The development of a more elaborate rite of the prothesis runs parallel to the transformation of apse decorative programmes. It would therefore have been helpful for elucidating these programmes had an authoritative study of the rite existed.³⁴⁷ Since such a study does not exist, a brief presentation is given here of the principal elements which were to be synthesized in the 14th-century *Diataxis*

347. The only full monograph, M. Mandalà, *La protesi della liturgia nel rito bizantino-greco* (Grottaferrata, 1935), must be read with caution. I thank Robert Taft for helpful criticism of the first draft of this appendix.

of Philotheus. It represents the Athonite tradition, but, particularly after the introduction of printing, it became authoritative.³⁴⁸

The word prothesis (*protithemi*: set forth) signifies shewbread, and, by extension, the *prosphora*, the bread that will be used in the Eucharistic sacrifice.³⁴⁹ The word proscomide (*proskomizo*: carry, convey) is used of the Old Testament sacrifices, and, also by extension, signifies the Anaphora and even the Eucharist in its totality.³⁵⁰ Both words are used indifferently to this day for the rite of the preparation of the *prosphora*.³⁵¹

It does not seem that this rite originally took place when the *prosphora* was brought to the altar after the Liturgy of the Word and before the Anaphora.³⁵² Confusion on this point has arisen from the fact that a prayer of the proscomide is recited when the offerings have been placed on the altar. However the title of this prayer refers to the Anaphora as a whole. Further confusion has arisen from the fact that the commentary on the prayer of the proscomide in the original version of the *Historia ecclesiastica* was, in later versions, moved back to the beginning and used as a commentary on the rite of the prothesis.³⁵³

When the rite of the prothesis was instituted, it was at its present place before the beginning of the Eucharistic liturgy. Offerings were brought to the *skevophylakion*, which, at Constantinople, was situated outside the church.³⁵⁴ The deacon selected from them that which was to be consecrated (the *prosphora*), and brought it to the altar after the Liturgy of the Word (the Great Entrance in its primitive form). At some time it became the custom to reserve a place in the church for the offerings. This only became general in Constantinople, with consequent modifications in the architectural plan of churches, after the Triumph of Orthodoxy. A prothesis chapel was improvised at Saint Sophia to the north of the sanctuary,

348. Brightman, *Liturgies*, esp. Appendix Q, 'The Development of the Byzantine Prothesis,' 539–551; Bornert, *Commentaires byzantins*, *passim*; Taft, *Great Entrance*, esp. Chapter 7, 'An "Offertory Prayer" at the Great Entrance?', 257–275, Chapter 10, 'The Prayer of the Proscomide,' 350–373.

349. Lampe, *Lexicon*, 1148–1149, 1173, 1190.

350. *Ibid.*, 1173.

351. The 12th-century *Responsa* cited subsequently, see note 366 below, uses the term proscomide and not prothesis.

352. Taft, *Great Entrance*, Chapter 7, considers exhaustively all the arguments in favour of a displacement of the rite and refutes them.

353. Bornert, *Commentaires byzantins*, 139; Taft, *op. cit.*, 350–364.

354. Taft, *op. cit.*, 185–191.

where the floor shows signs of modification.³⁵⁵ There is a reference to the prothesis chapel in Saint Sophia in the *De officiis* of the Pseudo-Codinus.³⁵⁶

From the 9th century onwards two chapels were regularly constructed, one to the right and one to the left of the central apse. The north chapel is now generally called the prothesis, and this word was used for it by Nicolas of Andida in the 11th century.³⁵⁷ However for a long period the names *skevophylakion*, *diakonicon* and *prothesis* were used indifferently for the place where the offerings were prepared.³⁵⁸

In the 7th century Maximus the Confessor used the word *prothesis* for the preparation of the *prospora*, but he gives no information as to what this involved.³⁵⁹ At an unknown date, but not later than the 8th century, a prayer was introduced for the blessing of the bread in the *skevophylakion*.³⁶⁰ This is the prayer of the prothesis which is common to the liturgies of Basil and John Chrysostom. The 10th-century state of the rite can be inferred from the 16th-century Latin manuscript of *Johannisberg*.³⁶¹ The prayer was accompanied by incensing. It was a rite specifically for the bread, as is made clear by a patriarchal instruction forbidding the blessing of the wine.³⁶²

The first witness to a more developed rite occurs in the earliest version of the *Historia ecclesiastica*. The *terminus ante quem* for the rite in this form is the visit of Anastasius Bibliothecarius to Constantinople (869–870).³⁶³ However, the original Greek may well date back to the early 8th century, when Germanus, the most likely author, was living (died 733).

355. Personal communication by Mr Robert Van Nice. There is no question of a chapel of the prothesis having been added to the northeast of the sanctuary, nor of the wall having been pierced to give access to it.

356. *De officiis*, ed. Verpeaux, 263–264.

357. *Protheoria*, PG 140, 425, 441.

358. Taft, *Great Entrance*, 202 note 77.

359. *Interrogatio* 41, PG 90, 820; Bornert, *Commentaires byzantins*, 107; Taft, *op. cit.*, 260.

360. This is the prayer in Basil's liturgy, first recorded in *Vatican. Barb. graec.* 336, Brightman, 309. The alternative prayer given by Brightman, *ibid.*, for John Chrysostom's liturgy, is in fact South Italian, Taft, *op. cit.*, 273–274.

361. Taft, *op. cit.*, 187, 269.

362. *Instruction of Nicephorus* (806–815), PG 100, 856; Bornert, *Commentaires byzantins*, 150.

363. *Historia ecclesiastica*, ed. Petridès, 351–352; N. Borgia, *Il commentario di S. Germano patriarca di Costantinopoli e la versione latina di Anastasio bibliotecario* (Grottaferrata, 1912).

An incision was made in the bread with a lance, probably accompanied by the reading of Isaiah 53, 7–8: 'He was led as a sheep to the slaughter....' Wine and water were then poured into the chalice.³⁶⁴

By the second half of the 9th century the rite had the following form.³⁶⁵ The priest receives the *prosphora* from the deacon. He makes an incision in the form of a cross, reciting the first phrase of Isaiah 53,7. He places the *prosphora* on the paten, reciting the second phrase of Isaiah 53,7 and 53,8. He makes an indicative gesture towards the *prosphora* with his hand. The deacon pours wine and water into the chalice. The priest recites John 19, 34–35: 'One of the soldiers with a spear pierced his side. . . .' The priest incenses the oblations and recites the prayer of the prothesis.

The next development in the rite was the practice of cutting particles out of the *prosphora* and offering them in commemoration. The first Greek witness to this practice is in a *Responsa* of the patriarch Nicolas III Grammaticus (1084–1111) to a question as to its authenticity submitted by John, an Athonite monk.³⁶⁶ The doubt as to the authenticity of the new development suggests that it was recent. In his *Responsa*, Nicolas Grammaticus describes how the separation of the particles was executed at Saint Sophia. A number of *prosphora* were prepared. The particle separated from the first was in honour of Our Lord. In separating it, the priest recites the words: 'The Lamb of God, the Son of the Father, is immolated, he who assumes the sin of the world.' The particle separated from the second *prosphora* was in honour of the Virgin. In separating it, the priest recites the words: 'Accept, Lord, this sacrifice by the intercession of the most glorious sovereign Mother of God, Mary ever Virgin, for the pardon of him who has offered it.'

For the particle from the third *prosphora*, the priest recites the words: 'Receive, Lord, this sacrifice by the intercession of the holy and celestial powers, Michael, Gabriel and other cohorts, for the pardon of him who has offered it.' For the fourth particle: 'Receive, Lord, this sacrifice by the intercession of the blessed Forerunner, the holy and illustrious apostles, the holy prophets, the holy hierarchs

364. *Historia ecclesiastica*, ed. Brightman, 263–264; Bornert, *Commentaires byzantins*, 148–150.

365. *Historia*, ed. Brightman, 264–265; Bornert, *op. cit.*, 164–165.

366. V. Laurent, 'Le rituel de la proskomidie et le métropolitain de Crète Elie,' *REB* 16 (1958), 129–130 lines 74–79; A. Jacob, 'Une version géorgienne inédite de la liturgie de S. Jean Chrysostome,' *Le Muséon* 77 (1964), 65–116.

and of the saint whom we now commemorate and of all the saints for the pardon of him who has offered it.'

Should there be yet further *prospora*, the priest recites, if it is offered for the living: 'Accept, Lord, this sacrifice for the pardon of him who has offered it;' if it is offered for the dead: 'Accept, Lord, this sacrifice for the pardon of him who has offered it and for those for whom he has offered it.'

Leo the Tuscan's Latin translation of the liturgy of John Chrysostom from a copy in which the same patriarch Nicolas Grammaticus and Alexius Comnenus (1080–1118) are commemorated, provides evidence that, by about the same date, a text had been introduced to be recited when the priest covered the chalice with a veil.³⁶⁷

In due course, the bread and wine were covered with three veils, and, when the asterisk was placed on the paten, the priest recited: 'The star stopped above the place where the Christ child lay' (Matthew 2,9). The earliest witness to this last text is the Euchologion Athos Esphigmenou 34, dated 1306.³⁶⁸

From the 14th century, there exist several Euchologia with a full text for the rite of the prothesis.³⁶⁹ Before 1347, the patriarch Philotheus Coccinus was to prepare his *Diataxis*.³⁷⁰ In these 14th-century texts the names of the saints to be commemorated when the particles were separated from the *prospora* are listed. The bishops are specified as follows:

Patmos 719 (13th century):³⁷¹ Basil, John Chrysostom, Athanasius, Cyril of Alexandria, Nicolas the Wonderworker, Spyridon, Amphilocius, Ambrose, Epiphanius, Abercius, Gregory the Wonderworker, Gregory of Greater Armenia, Gregory of Agrigentum, Gregory of Nyssa (curiously, Gregory of Nazianzus is omitted).

Athos Esphigmenou 34 (1306):³⁷² John Chrysostom, Basil the Great, Gregory the Theologian, Gregory of Nyssa, Gregory the Decapolite, Gregory of Agrigentum, Gregory the Wonderworker, Gregory of Greater Armenia, Nicolas the Wonderworker,

367. Brightman, *Liturgies*, 544–545.

368. A. Dmitrievsky, *Description of Liturgical Manuscripts*, II, *Euchologia* (in Russian), (Kiev, 1901), 265.

369. Taft, *Great Entrance*, 440–441.

370. Trempelas, *Three Liturgies*, 1–16.

371. Dmitrievsky, *Description of Liturgical Manuscripts*, 170.

372. *Ibid.*, 262.

Athanasius the Great, Cyril, John the Almoner, Blasius, Modestus, Polycarp.

Grottaferrata G b xiii (14th century):³⁷³ Basil, John Chrysostom, Gregory of Nazianzus, Nicolas.

Diataxis of Philotheus Coccinus (before 1347):³⁷⁴ Basil, Gregory the Theologian, John Chrysostom, Athanasius, Cyril, Nicolas of Myra.

Hermeneia of Philotheus Coccinus:³⁷⁵ Basil, Gregory the Theologian, John Chrysostom, Nicolas the Wonderworker, Athanasius, Cyril, James, brother of the Lord, the just Lazarus, Achilles of Larissa, Oecumenius of Trikkia.

So far as a shape can be attributed to the rite of the prothesis it would be as follows. The faithful offered only bread for the Eucharist. The bread which was actually to be used as an oblation was sanctified by incensation and a prayer of blessing. The rite then receives a mystagogical development by likening the bread to the lamb to be slaughtered, which is a type of Calvary, and the wine to the blood issuing from Christ's side as he hung on the Cross. Thus the rite is extended to both the wine and the bread which are to be used in the Eucharist. The next development has a double significance. It at once associates the donor of the *prosphora* with the liturgy, in a way analogous to Roman Catholic mass intentions, and introduces intercessory prayers. The Psalm which is read when the veil is placed over the oblations has no typological connection with the liturgy. However, the likening of the asterisk to the star of Bethlehem may have been inspired by the assimilation of the prothesis chapel to the cave where the Magi found the Christ child. In fact the rite seems to be lacking in a coherent structure, and has developed by a process of devotional accretion rather than by doctrinal re-thinking. However, the very fact that increasing importance should be attributed to the preparation of the oblations is symptomatic of the same development in the Byzantine attitude to the Eucharist as is manifest in apse decorative programmes. Moreover, there are obvious common points of reference in the assimilation of the *prosphora* to the Christ child and in the names of the bishops commemorated. However it seems likely that the representation of the Christ child as the *Amnos* and the increase in

373. Brightman, *Liturgies*, 548.

374. Trempelas, *Three Liturgies*, 3.

375. *Ibid.*, 235.

the number of bishops' portraits on the walls of the apse occurred earlier in iconography than the analogous additions to the prothesis rite.

Appendix III The rite of the Melismos

The fraction of the consecrated bread for distribution in communion is as ancient as the Last Supper. However the evidence for the recitation of a special formula at the moment of fraction for communion is relatively late. There is no such formula in the 9th-century manuscripts collated by Brightman. Equally no formula is given in the earliest surviving *Diataxis* for the pontifical liturgy in the Great Church, *Londin*. Additional 34060, dating from the 12th century. It gives only rubrics for the breaking of particles from the breads.³⁷⁶

The first formulae appear in manuscripts of the 12th and 13th centuries.³⁷⁷ There are numerous variants.³⁷⁸ The present *textus receptus* is that of *Diataxis* of Philotheus Coccinus (before 1347), although here the last phrase is missing.³⁷⁹ The whole text is given in the *editio princeps* of Doucas (1536).³⁸⁰

376. R. Taft, 'The Pontifical Liturgy of the Great Church according to a Twelfth-Century *Diataxis* in Codex *British Museum Add*, 34060,' *OCP* 45 (1979), 300–301; *ibid.* 46 (1980), 117–118.

377. Oxford Bodleian Auct. E.5.13 (12th century), *Vatican. graec.* 1811 (1147), Patmos 709 (1260), Oxford Bodleian Cromwell 11 (1225). For their bibliography, if any, Taft, *Great Entrance*, 435–446. Information in this and subsequent notes was communicated to me by Robert Taft, whom I thank again for making his liturgical erudition available to me.

378. *Vatican. Barb. graec.* 316 (12th century), *Sinait.* 1020 (12th–13th century), *Vatican graec.* 1228 (13th century), Patmos 719 (13th century). Bibliography, Taft, *Great Entrance*. Variants are found in Italian and Sinai manuscripts after the establishment of the *textus receptus* of the Constantinopolitan Church.

379. Trempeles, *Three Liturgies*, 13. For the *textus receptus*, *ibid.*, 133–134; Brightman, *Liturgies*, 393.

380. Taft, *Great Entrance*, xxvi.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION THE ELEVENTH-CENTURY WATERSHED

It has recently been written that 'as distinct from its appreciation, which is now widespread, a proper understanding of Byzantine art in its development and its connection with historical and social factors has not yet been fully achieved.'¹ The present study is an attempt to remedy this deficiency. Its limitations are obvious and, in part, intentional. Byzantine art is treated functionally; the enquiry is centred on its intellectual content; little is said about style. Moreover the book attempts to trace the development of Byzantine art and to establish the connection with historical and social factors only within the context of the Church. However, since most Byzantine art is religious, and since it has been shown that from the 11th century it became increasingly clerical, concentration on ecclesiastical factors can be readily justified.

The pattern of development was delineated in the first chapter on the significance of episcopal vestments. It was shown that the place of the bishop in Byzantine society was defined by his book—the sign of a doctor, and his *omophorion*—the sign of a pastor. Additions to these vestments implied that the liturgical office of bishops acquired increasing importance, while the introduction of the *polystavrion* and the *sakkos* reflected the Church's preoccupation with precedence and hierarchy.

The second chapter was devoted to the incidence of bishops and ceremonies in manuscript illustration. Using this material as a basis but supplementing it with pictures from monumental painting and the minor arts, biographical scenes and cycles for saintly bishops were analysed. It transpired that saintly bishops did not receive much popular cult, with the exception of Nicolas of Myra who was

1. C. Mango, *Byzantium: The Empire of New Rome* (London, 1980), 256.

revered for his powers as a wonderworker; it was, above all, their orthodoxy which was admired. Bishops who had taken part in ecumenical councils were particularly revered. From the 11th century emphasis was placed upon their wisdom. The wisest bishops were the Three Hierarchs, among whom John Chrysostom was *primus inter pares*.

The fourth chapter was devoted to church rites in Byzantine iconography. It transpired that there was no deliberate exploitation of such scenes for propaganda purposes. Some were represented only for a specific reason. Coronation and marriage were imperial themes, connected with an accession to power. Baptism marked a conversion. It is not possible to establish when it was first represented as a distinctive church rite. However, its popularity as an iconographical theme may be plausibly related to Byzantine expansionism under Basil I, when the Slav peoples were evangelized. The consecration of a bishop was generally represented in a historical or biographical context. After various experiments, it took on a definitive form in the 11th century. Its use to call attention to the apostolic origins of a see seems to have been restricted to the West.

In the same chapter rites facilitating or celebrating the passage of mortal man to eternal life were also discussed. The evolution of funerary rites in Byzantine art can be clearly traced. At first processions and entombment were preferred. Later these were replaced by the *prothesis* or lying in state, which was a development of the death-bed scene. The *prothesis* was probably first used for the Dormition of the Virgin, of which the earliest surviving examples date from the 10th century. By the 11th century the *prothesis* was becoming the usual funerary scene for all personages. Scenes representing the translation of relics are imperial in origin. The Adventus continued to be used throughout the Byzantine epoch. From the late 10th century, there is evidence that new scenes were being created, notably for the veneration of relics. For invention, translation and deposition scenes the iconography was adapted from funerary rites. In all these iconographical themes there are signs of increasing ritualisation, especially from the 11th century. It is particularly evident in baptismal and funerary scenes.

While manuscript illumination is informative about trends in the Byzantine Church, it was rarely exploited ideologically. Only two manuscripts, the Paris Gregory and the Theodore Psalter, have illustrations deliberately intended to set forth a structured theory of the relationship between the terrestrial and the celestial Church. For

such theories, it is necessary to turn to the decorative programmes of churches, notably those in the apse, the cupola and the narthex.

The official imagery of the Byzantine Church was studied in the fifth chapter. The development of an echelon of saintly bishops was traced up to the 11th century, when it became customary to place it in the apse. It was then shown how apse programmes, which were always Christocentric and always focussed upon the Church Triumphant, nevertheless underwent radical modification over the centuries. While the Iconophile preoccupation with Christ's accessibility to human eyes was a conservative factor in apse decoration, the importance attributed to the intercession of saints encouraged their introduction in ever increasing numbers. However, it was only in the 11th century that Eucharistic scenes became the focal point of apse decoration. This opened up the way for the creation of new subjects, inspired by ecclesiastical rather than imperial ceremonial. It seems that these changes were more closely connected with controversies within the Byzantine Church than with controversies with the Latins.

In the course of this study, much evidence has been adduced in favour of the view that the 11th century was a watershed in the history of Byzantine art. Not only do iconographical types derived from antique imagery give way to those derived from church ceremonial, but also the conception of the Church as a hierarchy of Eucharistic celebrations replaces that of Christendom as a society dominated by the imperial court, whose celestial analogue is Christ, the universal sovereign surrounded by angels and saints. Such a view is not fashionable among art historians, although historians are well aware that the 11th century was a period of development and renewal in Byzantine society at large.² Art historians, in fact, continue to be bewitched by a 'Macedonian Renaissance'; so obstacles to a proper understanding of Byzantine art have been created by those very scholars who have done so much to discover and record its *disjecta membra*.³

The use of the term 'renaissance' in the history of Byzantine art exemplifies the danger inherent in applying concepts useful in

2. C. Mango, 'Discontinuity with the Classical Past in Byzantium,' *Byzantium and the Classical Tradition*, ed. Margaret Mullett & R. Scott (Birmingham, 1981), 49; C. Niarchos, 'The Philosophical Background of the 11th-century Revival of Learning in Byzantium,' *ibid.*, 128.

3. Mango, *Byzantium* (note 1), 257.

studying periods in which content is subordinate to style, to others in which style is subordinate to content. In the Italian Renaissance the search for artistic inspiration in Antiquity was conjugated with a humanistic revival of learning. In Byzantine art a return to classical models was reactionary and conservative; it was not linked with a humanistic revival. Apart from a tiny élite, Byzantine society manifested little interest in its classical past. It sought inspiration rather in Judaeo-Christian tradition.⁴

The assimilation of Constantinople to Sion, the city of God, proved to be particularly fruitful. Marcian had been hailed as the New David by the fathers of the council of Chalcedon. At the second council of Nicaea, Tarasius spoke of Constantinople as the New Sion, protected by the holy emperors as David had protected Jerusalem.⁵ These comparisons were exploited in the 11th and 12th centuries, especially in polemics with the Latins. Nicetas of Ancyra used them,⁶ as did Nicetas Seides, who told the Latins (ca. 1112) that Constantinople was 'the new Rome, the new Jerusalem, the great Babylon and the city of God. It is the true stronghold. . . . The monarchy of Rome is situated there . . . as well as the high priest.'⁷

The miniatures of the Theodore Psalter offer a compendium of such assimilations, of which the most striking and most original illustrates Psalm 45, 5: 'The flowings of the river gladden the city of God; the most high has sanctified his tabernacle.'⁸ This verse was not illustrated in earlier marginal Psalters. In the Theodore Psalter, f. 57^v, a church figures beside the river; it is named in the accompanying legend as *polis*. Before it stands a personage dressed as a priest and named as a hierarch. When the same verse was illustrated in the Kiev Psalter, f. 63, a city, which may be inferred to be Constantinople, figures in one miniature, while the church, which stands for the tabernacle, is named Saint Sophia.⁹

In the 11th century it again became the fashion to establish an analogy between Byzantine emperors and Old Testament kings. In the two frontispieces to the Psalter of Basil II, Basil's triumph over

4. Mango, 'Discontinuity,' 48-57.

5. Ch. Walter, 'The Significance of Unction in Byzantine Iconography,' *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 2 (1976), 62.

6. J. Darrouzès, *Documents inédits d'ecclésiologie byzantine* (Paris, 1966), 199.

7. J. Darrouzès, 'Les documents byzantins du 12^e siècle sur la primauté romaine,' *REB* 23 (1965), 55-56.

8. Der Nersessian, *Theodore Psalter*, 31, 83-84, fig. 94.

9. Vzdornov, *Kiev Psalter* I, 118.

his enemies is associated with the life of David. In this manuscript the unction of David as a shepherd boy is represented. However, David received two further unctions, as king respectively of Judah and Israel.¹⁰ From the mid-11th century, it became customary to represent David's two later unctions, and to portray him in imperial dress. In 1143, Michael Italicus likened the unction of Manuel Comnenus by the patriarch to that of David by Samuel.¹¹

Although no evidence is available as to the exact date when unction was introduced into the Byzantine coronation rite, it is likely that it was an innovation of the Comneni.¹² They differed from their predecessors in that they considered themselves to be a sacred dynasty. Alexius, according to the panegyric by his daughter Anna, merited the title of thirteenth apostle, for he was equally skilled in the use of arms and arguments.¹³ By arms he triumphed over the barbarians and by arguments over the impious. The Comneni freely exercised their prerogatives in Church affairs. Alexius commissioned the *Panoplia dogmatica* of Zigabenus and introduced reforms into the Great Church by his *prostagma* of 1107.¹⁴ Manuel I reintroduced the practice of convoking and presiding synods, which continued under his Palaeologan successors.¹⁵ He also changed the patriarch ten times during his reign.¹⁶ Yet this does not really imply that emperors could manipulate the Church as they wished. It is rather a sign of the difficulty which they experienced in finding a court prelate, submissive to their will, to assume the office of patriarch.

Although emperors may have been successful in resolving internal disputes by convoking synods, they failed to bring the Constantinopolitan Church into union with Rome. It was the clergy who ensured that the decisions of the second council of Lyons and

10. Walter, 'The Significance of Unction' (note 5), 53–73.

11. Michel Italikos, *Lettres et Discours*, ed. P. Gautier (Paris, 1972), 79, 292.

12. D. Nicol, 'Kaiseraltung. The Unction of Emperors in Late Byzantine Coronation Ritual,' *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 2 (1976), 37–52, gives the most recent summing up of this problem.

13. Anna Comnena, *Alexiade* XIV vii 8, ed. B. Leib (Paris, 1945), 181.

14. P. Gautier, 'L'édit d'Alexis I^{er} Comnène sur la réforme du clergé,' *REB* 31 (1973), 165–201.

15. Walter, *Conciles*, 143–144.

16. Leo (1134–1143), Michael II (1143–1146), Cosmas II (1146–1147), Nicolas IV (1147–1151), Theodotus II (1151–1153), Neophytus I (1153–1154), Theodotus II again (1154), Constantine IV (1154–1157), Luke Chrysoberges (1157–1170), Michael III (1170–1178), Chariton (1178–1179), Theodosius (1179–1183).

the council of Florence should remain a dead letter. The force of the Messianic unction received by emperors only too evidently declined. On the other hand the Church became stronger and survived the cataclysm of 1453.

The attitude of the Byzantine Church to imperial authority was ambivalent. John Chrysostom had already formulated the notion that the emperor was responsible for the bodies of Christians while priests were responsible for their souls.¹⁷ It was taken up by John Damascene in his controversies with Iconoclast emperors,¹⁸ and again by Theodore the Studite, who further observed, citing Saint Paul, I Corinthians 12, 28, that God had built his Church on the apostles, prophets and doctors, but that apostolic tradition attributed no office in the Church to emperors.¹⁹ In the 11th century John Mauropous expressed the same notion in an epigram.²⁰ Nicetas of Ancyra took up the text of John Chrysostom and developed it. The Church of Constantinople, he wrote, was founded on the apostles and confirmed by imperial authority:

Through the agency [of the Church] and thanks to the glorious apostles, the holy fathers, and the great and numerous doctors, salvation and its advantages were rigorously codified. Pious emperors gave them the force of law. The prophet well said: out of Sion shall come a law. . . . Was it not voluntarily that the metropolises, by the agency of those who exercised authority at the time [the bishops at the ecumenical councils?] delivered themselves to you, Constantinople, on their own initiative and named you Mother of all?²¹

Within the Byzantine Church, from the 11th century, the bishops increasingly insisted on the superiority of ecclesiastical authority over imperial power. Nicetas Choniates, in his *History of Manuel Comnenus*, wrote scathingly of emperors who believed themselves to have the wisdom of sages and the competence of Solomon in divinity.²² A late *Encomium* of the patriarch Arsenius (died 1273) tells that the emperor Theodore II Lascaris 'was obedient to the patriarch, doing everything according to his wishes, yielding the State to the Church.' This was only proper 'for the anointer is greater

17. Homily 3 on Isaiah 6, PG 56, 126.

18. *De imaginibus* II 12, PG 94, 1296-1297.

19. Theodore Daphnopates (?), *Vita de Theodoro Studita*, PG 99, 181, 184, BHG, 1755.

20. *Iohannis Euchaitorum metropolitae quae in codice vaticano graeco 676 supersunt*, ed. J. Bolling & P. de Lagarde (Göttingen, 1882), 42; PG 120, 1185.

21. Darrouzès, *Documents inédits* (note 6), 27, 116-159.

22. *Historia de Manuele Comneno* (Bonn, 1835), 274; PG 139, 560.

than the anointed, the one who blesses greater than the one who is blessed. . . . It is absolutely necessary that the emperor, blessed and anointed, should be under the patriarch, for he is in need of grace.²³ In the 15th century, Macarius of Ancyra maintained that the power of the priesthood was superior to that of the *imperium*.²⁴

On the other hand, in controversy with outsiders, the Byzantine clergy continued to exalt the imperial office. Macarius of Ancyra, in his treatise against the Latins (1403/4), asserted, in contradiction to what he had written elsewhere, that the emperor was *alter Christus*, the first personage of Christendom, placed above patriarchs and councils. The letter addressed by the patriarch Antony IV to Basil I of Muscovy in 1393, affirming that there was only one emperor for the universe, is sufficiently well known for it to be unnecessary to quote it here anew.²⁵

The most important developments in late Byzantine ecclesiology are those concerned with the priestly office in itself. They are firmly rooted in tradition. Both Gregory of Nazianzus and John Chrysostom, two of the three *cynosures* of the Byzantine Church, had described the episcopal office as they conceived it. Both attempted to evade the priesthood for similar reasons. The administrative and pastoral responsibilities were too burdensome; they made it impossible to respond to the more lofty vocation of the Christian philosopher. Nevertheless both capitulated, and succeeded in combining their episcopal duties with the study of theology.

In his apology *De fuga*, Gregory of Nazianzus describes the priest as

the defender of truth, who is to take his stand with angels . . . , and cause the sacrifice to ascend to the altar on high, and share the priesthood of Christ, and renew the creature, and set forth the image, and create inhabitants for the world above, and, greatest of all, be God and make others God.²⁶

As was customary at that time, he used Old Testament analogies to interpret the priest's liturgical office, that of 'offering God the

23. Ruth Macrides, 'Saints and Sainthood in the Early Palaiologan Period,' *The Byzantine Saint*, ed. S. Hackel (London, 1981), 77-78.

24. Laurent, 'Trisépiscopat,' 16, 26.

25. *Regestes*, no. 2931.

26. *Oratio de fuga*, PG 35, 481, *BHG*, 730c.

external sacrifice, the antitype of the great mysteries.²⁷ However he insisted more upon the need to preach sound doctrine, refute heresy and defend orthodoxy. He developed this theme again in the passage of his autobiography, in which he justified his resignation from the see of Constantinople.²⁸

John Chrysostom's treatise *De sacerdotio* was probably more influential. Its most recent editor has identified 83 manuscripts, about fifty of which date from the 11th and 12th centuries.²⁹ John too used Old Testament analogies:

When you see the Lord sacrificed and lying before you, and the priest standing over the sacrifice and praying, and all who partake being tintured with that precious blood, can you think that you are still among men and standing on earth?³⁰

He emphasized the office of priests in admitting the general run of mankind to salvation:

For if a man 'cannot enter the kingdom of heaven except that he be born again of water and the spirit,' and if he who eats not the Lord's flesh and drinks not his blood is cast out of everlasting life, and all these things can happen through no other agency except the hands [of priests], how can anyone without their help escape the fires of Gehenna or win his appointed crown? [Priests] ... are in charge of spiritual travail and responsible for the birth which comes through baptism.³¹

However, a third of this treatise is devoted to the teaching office of priests.

The transmission of sound doctrine was, therefore, the principal office of bishops. Commenting on canon 19 of the Council *in Trullo*, which concerns the local pastor's duty to instruct his flock, Zonaras quoted Saint Paul's Letter to Titus, 1, 9:

The *episkopos* must ... [hold] fast the faithful word as he has been taught, that he may be able by sound doctrine both to exhort and convince gainsayers.³²

A picturesque variant on this theme is given by Michael Italicus in his *Epithalamion* delivered on the occasion of the mystical marriage

27. PG 35, 497.

28. PG 37, 1155–1166, *BHG*, 730a.

29. Jean Chrysostome, *Sur le sacerdoce*, ed. Anne-Marie Malingrey (Paris, 1980), 26–29.

30. *Ibid.*, 144–147; PG 47/48, 642–643.

31. *Sur le sacerdoce*, ed. Malingrey, 150–151, PG 47/48, 643.

32. Theodore Balsamon, etc., *Commentarii in canones*, PG 137, 576–581.

of the patriarch Kyr Michael with the see of Constantinople. He likened the two *didaskoloi* of the Great Church to the breasts of the spouse diffusing the milk of doctrine.³³ In his pastoral instruction, one of the most remarkable texts of the late Byzantine epoch, the patriarch Matthew I (1397–1410) wrote that the bishop must speak out in the presence of kings, announcing, as did the prophets, the truth and those dogmas which are in conformity with faith.³⁴

A corollary to the transmission of sound doctrine was the abomination of heresy. It was particularly developed in the treatise attributed to Germanus, patriarch of Constantinople (715–730), *De haeresibus et synodis*.³⁵ All heresy, he wrote, derived ultimately either from the obstinacy of the Jews or from the errors of the Gentiles. Councils were called to manifest the orthodox doctrine of the Church, to condemn erroneous doctrine and to impose sanctions on those who had perpetrated the errors. Heresy, more than any other deviation, rendered a bishop incapable of fulfilling his pastoral charge. In fact, when emperors wished to rid themselves of a patriarch, they usually had him arraigned before a synod on a charge of heresy. The convicted patriarch automatically incurred an anathema, which barred him from all ecclesiastical offices.³⁶

The collective responsibility of bishops to transmit faithfully the teaching of the College of Apostles was reaffirmed in the late Byzantine epoch. In the words of Nicetas of Heraclea:

We follow the ancient laws of the Church, we keep to the prescriptions of the Fathers, we anathematize those who add or subtract anything from the Catholic Church, we anathematize the insidious innovations of those who vilify Christians.³⁷

Such was the significance of the pictures of ecumenical councils which regularly figure in the narthex of churches from the 13th century onwards, and which have an obvious resemblance to those of the apostles receiving the gift of the Holy Spirit in pictures of Pentecost.³⁸

33. Italikos, ed. Gautier (note 11), 66, 70–71.

34. *Regestes*, no. 3066; *Patriarchatus constantinopolitani actus selecti* I, *Fonti* ii 3, ed. J. Oudot (Vatican, 1941), 134–163.

35. PG 98, 39–88.

36. A. Failler, 'La déposition du patriarche Calliste I^{er} (1353),' *REB* 31 (1973), 116–134.

37. Darrouzès, *Documents inédits* (note 6), 292–293.

38. N. Ozoline, 'L'iconographie byzantine de la Pentecôte,' *Annuaire de la 5^e section, Ecole pratique des hautes études* 75 (1967–1968), 169; *idem*, 'Quelques images relatives à la célébration primitive de la cinquantaine pascale,' *Eglise dans la liturgie*, 241–243; Walter, *Conciles*, 202.

What may have been new in the late Byzantine epoch was the emphasis placed upon the charisms received by bishops as individuals. The proceedings instituted under Manuel I in 1151, in order to oblige the patriarch Nicolas IV to abdicate, provided the occasion to reconsider the indelibility of episcopal consecration. The proceedings themselves have little interest, for they consist of a chain of sophisms intended to justify a decision taken in advance.³⁹ However, they provoked Nicolas of Methone to compose a treatise, in which he argued that the grace of episcopacy, received at the ceremony of consecration, was inseparable from the person who received it and was not lost if he resigned from his see.⁴⁰ Nicolas based his argument on the apostolic succession, by which the grace of episcopacy was transmitted from generation to generation.

Another line of argument, taken from Dionysius the Areopagite, was based on the theory of interior illumination from above. It was developed by Nicetas Stethatus (ca. 1020–ca. 1090), who was hegumen of the monastery of Saint John Studios towards the end of his life.⁴¹ He considered that Christian perfection consisted in the possession of mystical charisms. These charisms were not available to lay people.⁴² However, a monk could receive episcopal graces without ever having been ordained. As he wrote:

That man is a bishop for God and the Church of Christ, who has been shown within the Church, under the influence of the Holy Spirit, to be the spokesman of God, rather than he who has received episcopal consecration from men without yet having been initiated to the mysteries of the kingdom of God.⁴³

Nicolas Stethatus was not calling in question the validity of episcopal consecration. He was rather claiming—perhaps the last

39. Darrouzès, *Documents inédits*, 27, 116–159.

40. *Ibid.*, 27–28; A. Angelou, 'Nicholas of Methone: the Life and Works of a 12th-century Bishop,' *Byzantium and the Classical Tradition* (note 2), 143–148.

41. Nicétas Stéthatos, *Opuscles et Lettres*, ed. J. Darrouzès (Paris, 1961), 37–41, 340–345.

42. *Ibid.*, 34. The laity are rarely represented in Byzantine art as a category of the faithful. Two examples: the liturgical roll formerly at the Russian Institute of Archaeology in Istanbul, see above, 65 note 195, has a miniature of lay personages, headed by the emperor, kneeling with extended arms. The legend calls them *laos*. In Athos Pantocrator 22, f. 194^v, the initial letter of a homily of John Chrysostom on Job, PG 56, 563, represents a group of personages listening to him preaching. The legend calls them *ekklesia*. K. Weitzmann, 'The Selection of Texts for Cyclic Illustration in Byzantine Manuscripts,' *Byzantine Books and Bookmen* (Dumbarton Oaks, Washington D.C., 1975), 96–97, fig. 43 b, reprinted, *Book Illuminations and Ivories*.

43. Stéthatos, *Opuscles*, 340–343.

infirmity of a monkish mind—that graces received by consecration could also be received by interior illumination. His treatise witnesses to the esteem in which the episcopal state was held in the 11th century.

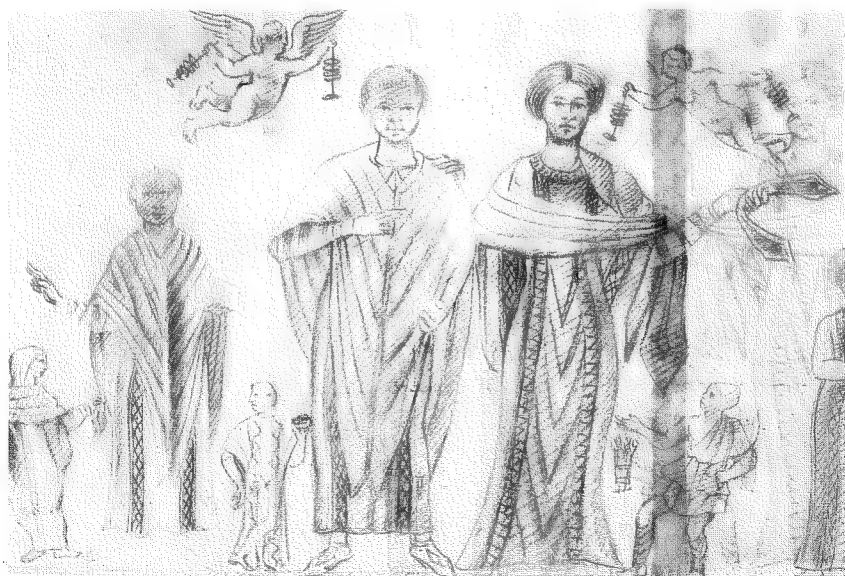
A more balanced exposition of illumination from above is given by the patriarch Matthew I in the pastoral treatise to which allusion has already been made:

According to the great Dionysius, [the celestial hierarchy] comprises a hierarchy of angels and archangels, a harmonious disposition of the various members and spirits, to which specific functions are assigned. Either . . . they receive illumination from the hierarchy, or they take their place in the hierarchy according to the degree of illumination that they have received. If the Church of Christ is constituted in the image of the celestial hierarchy, it is absolutely necessary that, in the Church too, each member avoids confusion and disorder, for such a state of things would bring about the ruin and disintegration of the Church of Christ. Where, indeed, order is absent, intestinal struggles reign and these are the prelude to decadence. Rather he to whom a spiritual dignity has been assigned must be content with the rank in which God has placed him, even if he is worthy of a higher charge.⁴⁴

Thus, by the end of the Byzantine epoch, a well-structured ecclesiology had been elaborated. It enabled the Church to survive and flourish after the Empire had collapsed; it has undergone little modification since that time. It is lucidly proclaimed in apse programmes, and iconographical themes developed in other media can be readily related to it. The Church was founded when Christ instituted the Eucharist and gave communion to the apostles. He did this as high priest and universal patriarch. The apostles transmitted to bishops Christ's sacerdotal office. Bishops constitute a hierarchy, whose principal offices are to teach orthodox doctrine and to adore the triumphant Christ. The supreme act of adoration is to offer Christ to himself under the form of the consecrated bread and wine. Illuminated from above, bishops concelebrate; communion is established between them by partaking of the same bread and drinking from the same chalice. Meanwhile, highest in the hierarchy, because they are pure spirits, angels offer the same homage to the triumphant Christ.

44. Oudot, *ed. cit.* (note 34), 134–135.

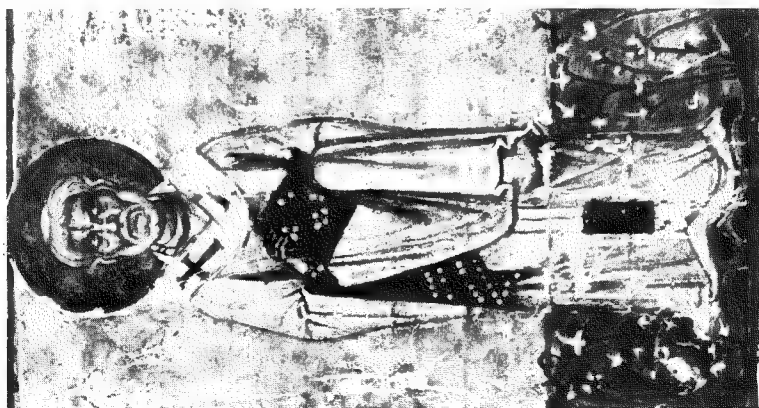




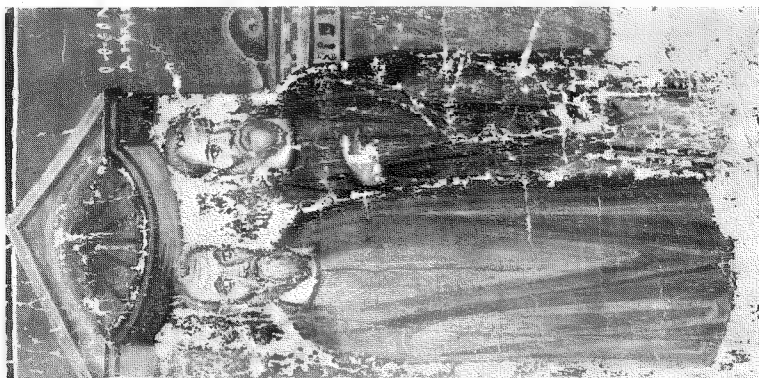
1. *Paenula*, Vatican. lat. 9136



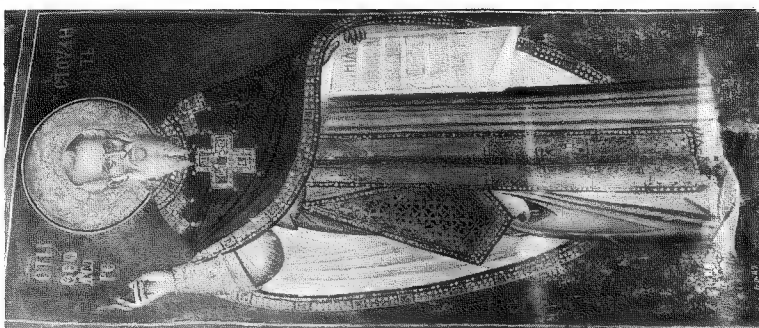
2. *Sakkos*, Patriarchate of Peć



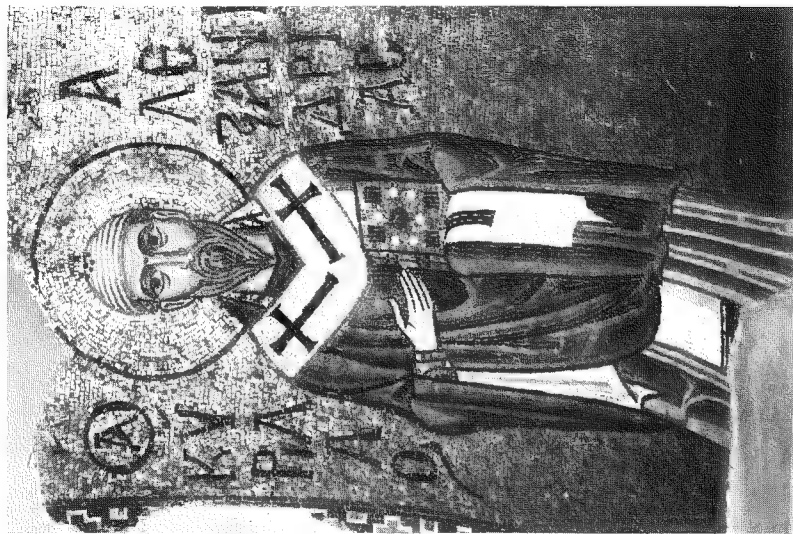
3. Peter of Alexandria,
Dochiariou 5



4. Penitential sakkos,
Paris. graec. 510



5. Theodore the Studite,
Decani



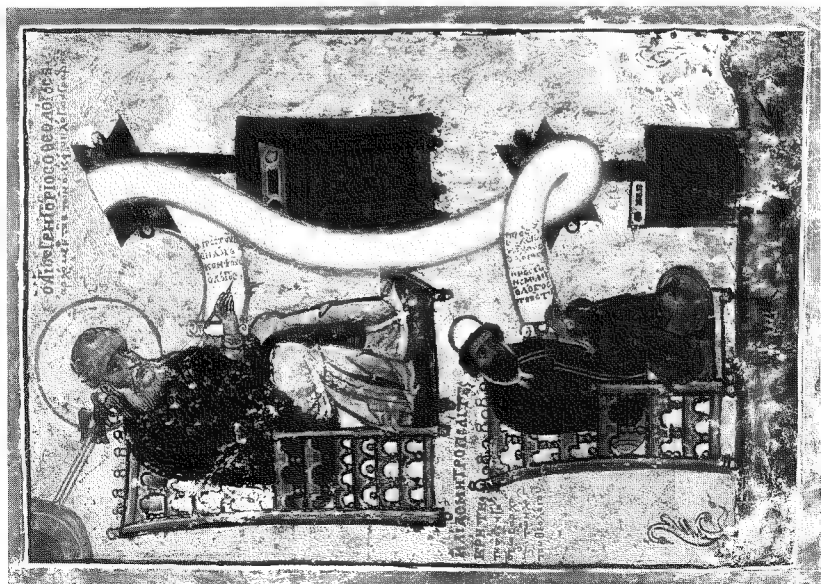
6. Cyril of Alexandria, Hosios Loukas



7. Methodius of Constantinople, Peribleptos, Ohrid



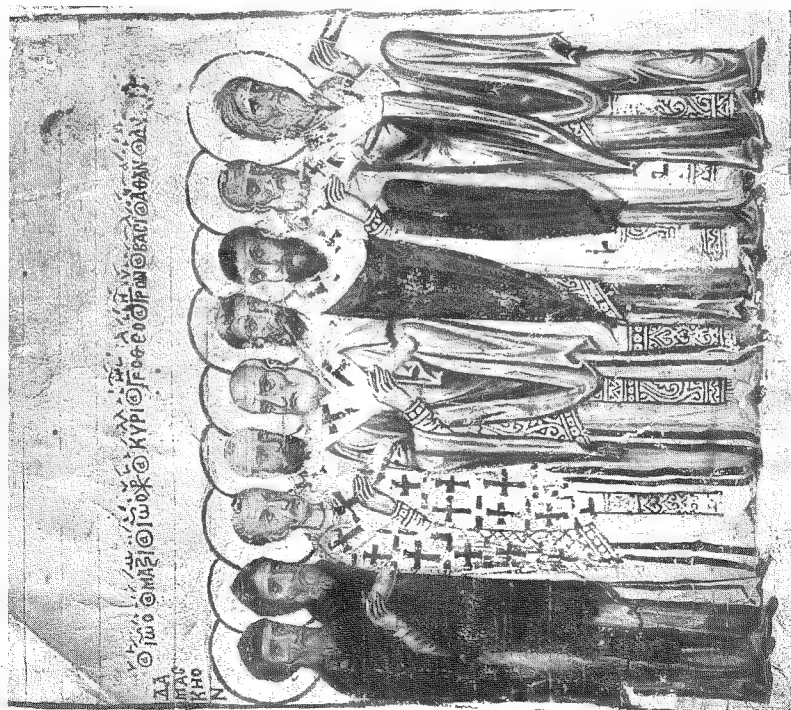
8. Author and commentators, Isaiah,
Vatican. graec. 755



9. Author and commentator, Gregory
of Nazianzus, *Basilean. ANI 8*



10. John Chrysostom and disciples,
Paris. graec. 224



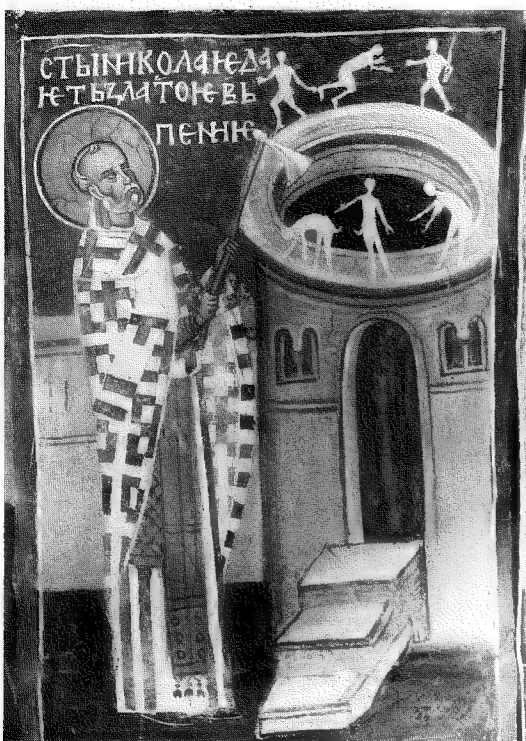
11. Sainly doctors, *Vatican. graec. 666*



12. Nicephorus triumphant,
Chludov Psalter



13. Nicephorus triumphant,
Pantocrator Psalter

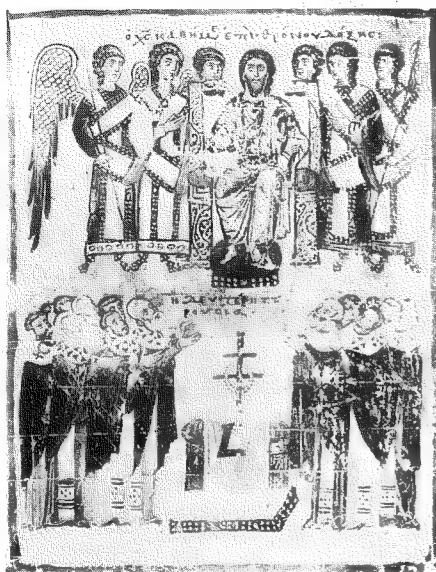


14. Nicolas smashing
idols, Dečani

VIII



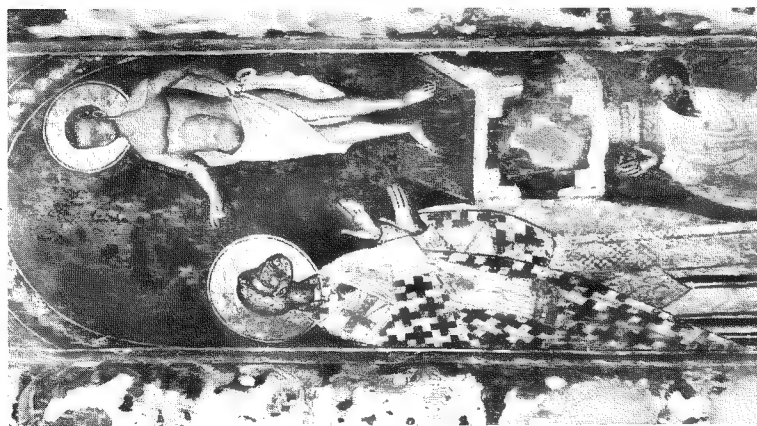
17. Hierarchies of saints, Dečani



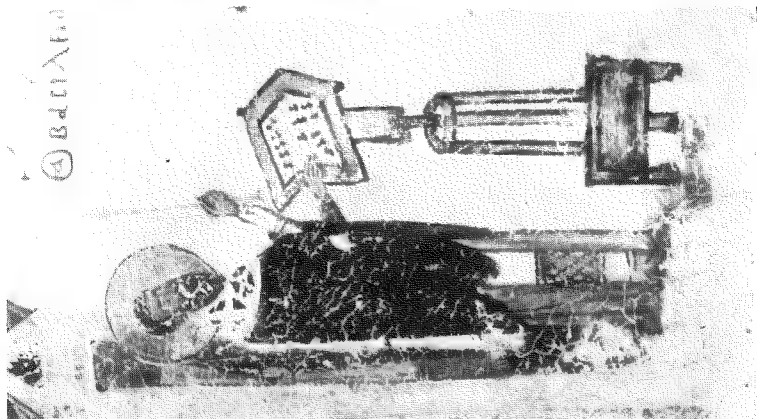
18. Hetoimasia, *Vatican. graec. 752*



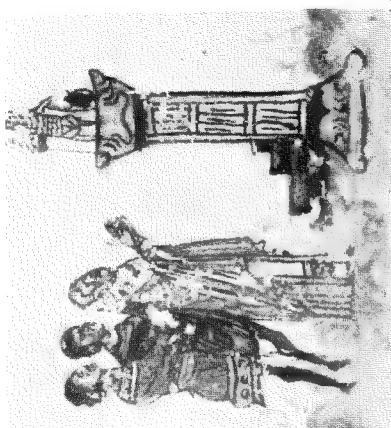
19. Deësis, Icon, Mount Sinai



20. Peter of Alexandria's vision,
Manasija



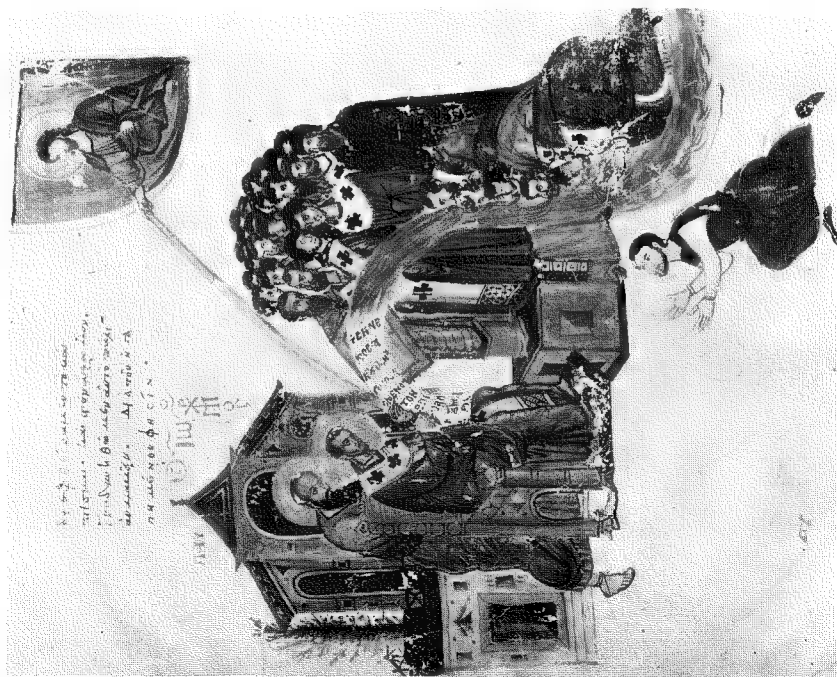
22. Basil at prayer,
Barberini Psalter



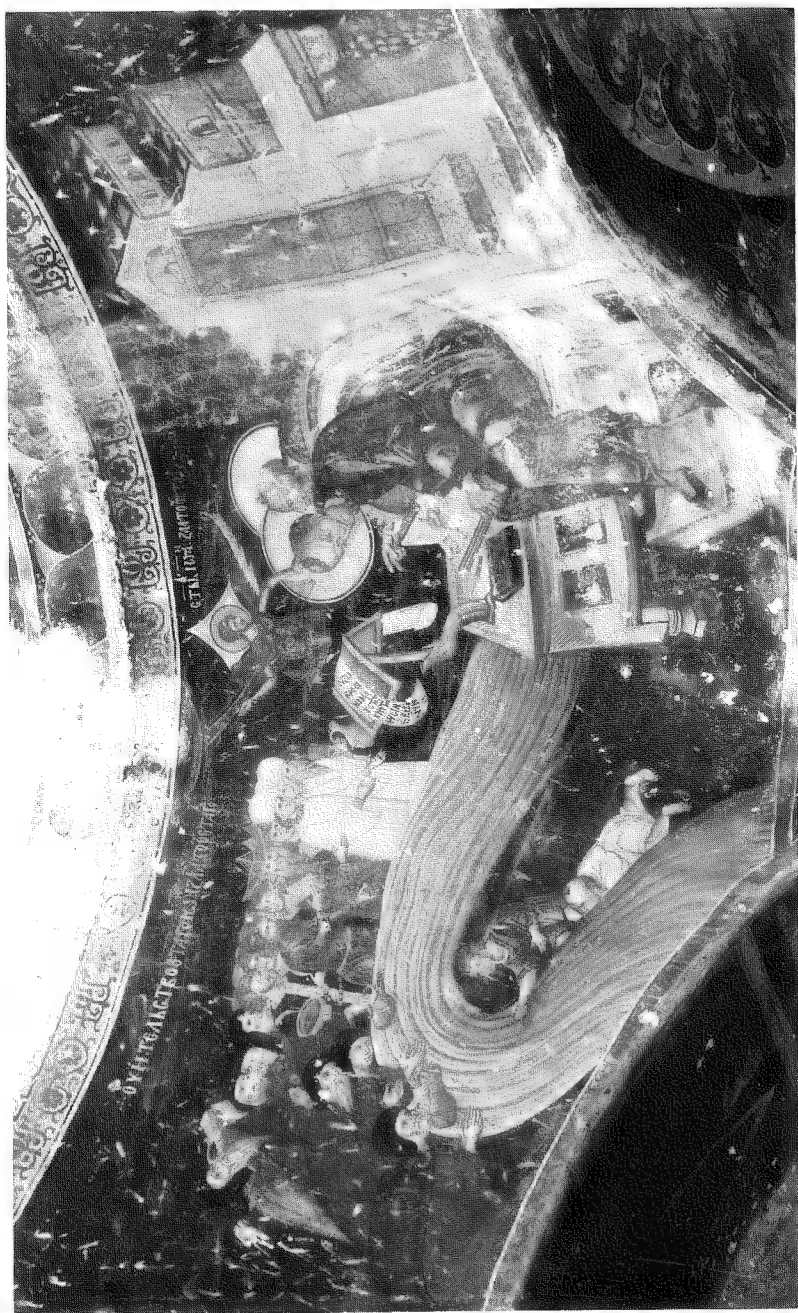
21. Bishop venerating idol,
Paris. graec. 74



23. John Chrysostom inspired,
Athen. graec. suppl. 535



24. John Chrysostom, Source of Wisdom,
Ambrosian. A 172 Sup.



25. John Chrysostom, Source of Wisdom, Lesnovo



26. Coronation of Basiliscus,
Madrid Scyltzes



27. Marriage of Theophobus,
Madrid Scyltzes



28. Conversion and baptism of Nachor, *Paris. graec. 1128*



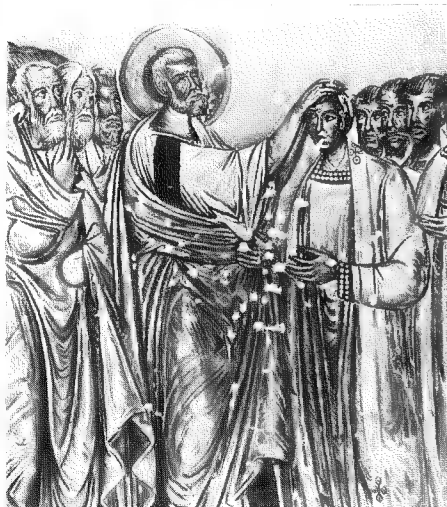
29. Conversion of Pelagia, Dečani



30. Unction of
catechumens,
Athen. graec. 2759



31. Baptism of imperial prince,
Madrid Scylitzes



32. Ordination of deacon,
Tokali



33. Ordination of priest,
Sopoćani



34. Consecration of bishop, *Paris graec.* 510



35. Consecration of bishop, *Basileen*. ANI 8



36. Mummy of bishop
Timothy, Alexandrian
World Chronicle



37. Bishop reading funeral
office, Psača



38. Invention of Stephen's relics,
Staro Nagoričino



39. Dormition,
Monastery of Marko

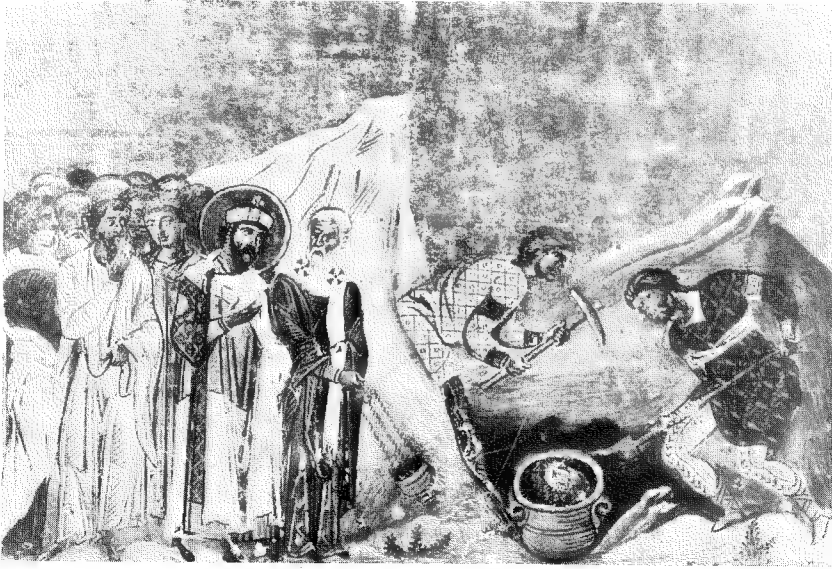
XVIII



40. Translation of Michael III, Madrid Scylitzes



41. Translation of Symeon Nemanjić, Sopoćani



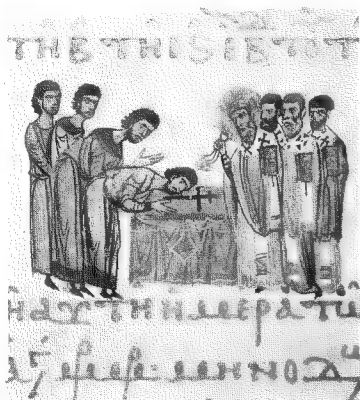
42. Invention of John the Baptist's head, Vatican Menologium



† Ὁ ΠΑΡΕΚΟΜΕΝΟΣ ΕΙΣ ΤΗΝ ΑΓΙΟΝ
 ΚΑΙ ΕΝ ΔΕ ΤΗΝ ΕΠΙΤΑΦΕΙ
 Τὸν ΧΥΤΙΜΟΘΕΟΝ † †
 ΙΜΟΘΕΟΝ ΤΟΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΝ

ΠΟΡΕΥΜΕΝΟΝ ΓΑΡ ΑΙ ΤΕ
 ΛΑΟΙ· ΜΩΥΣΕΩΣ ΙΔΕΟΝΤΕΣ
 ΦΙΛΑΓΓΕΛΟΝ ΑΝΤΙΦΩΝΟΝ
 ΤΙΟΥ ΔΕ ΑΝΤΙΦΩΝΟΝ

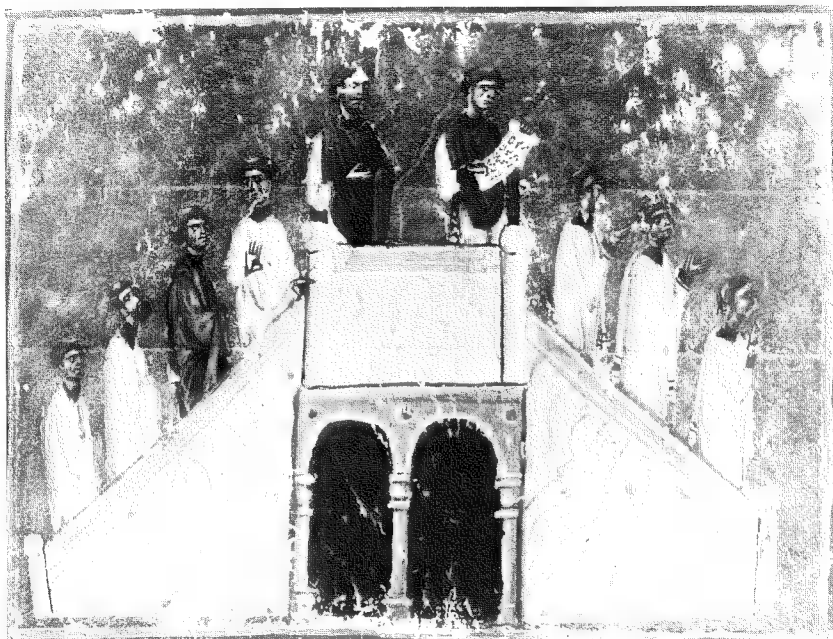
43. Translation of Timothy, Vatican Menologium



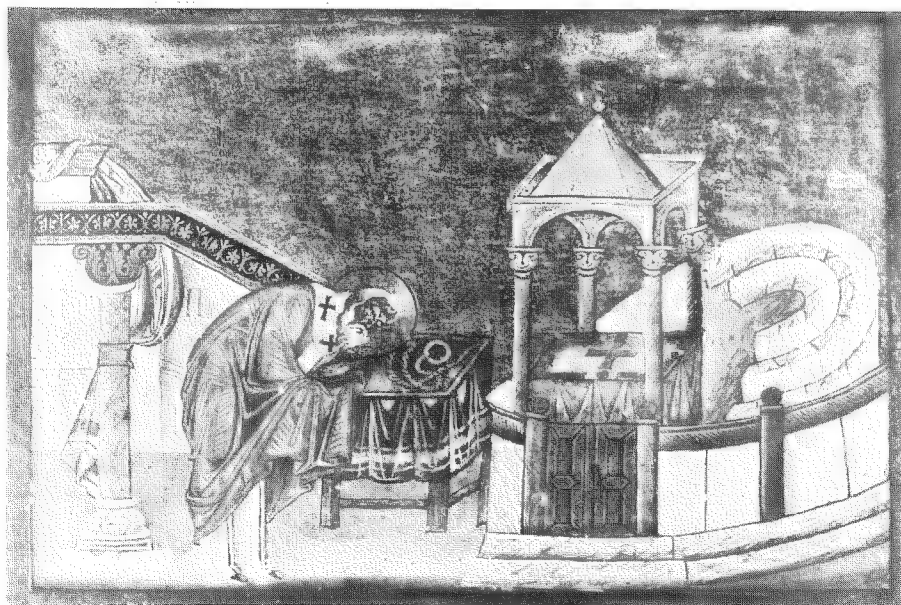
44. Adoration of the Cross,
Vatican. graec. 1156



45. Exaltation of the Cross,
Vatican. graec. 1156



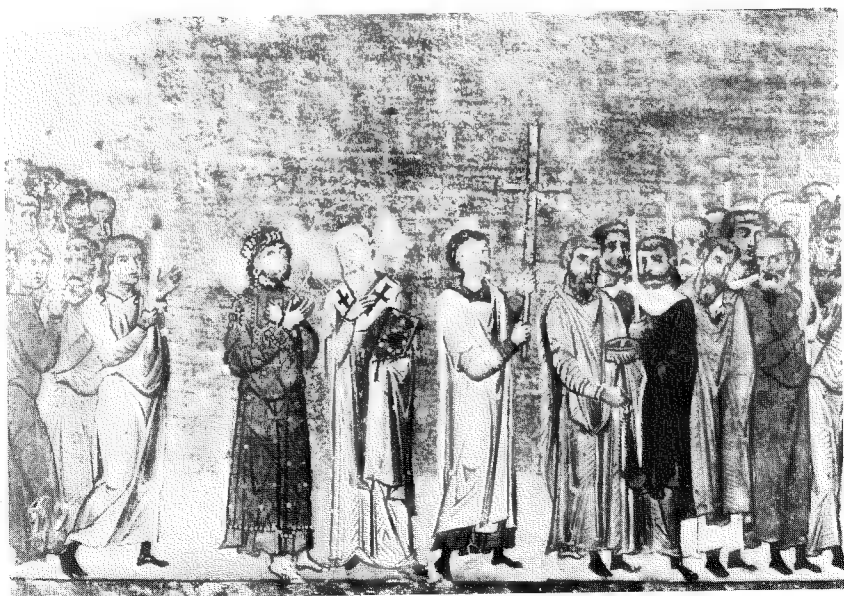
46. Proclamation of Orthodoxy, Dionysiou 587



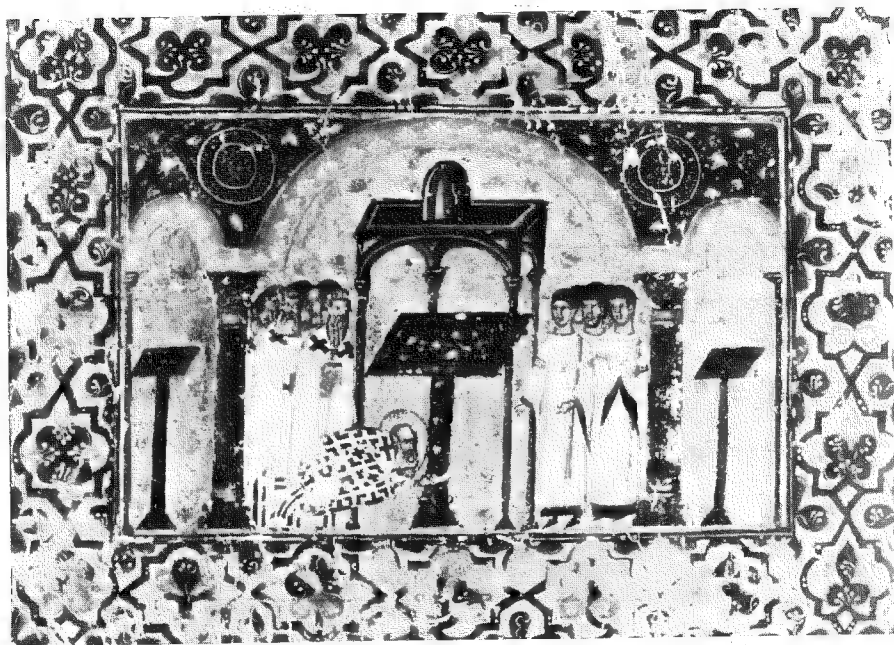
47. Veneration of Saint Peter's Chains, Vatican Menologium



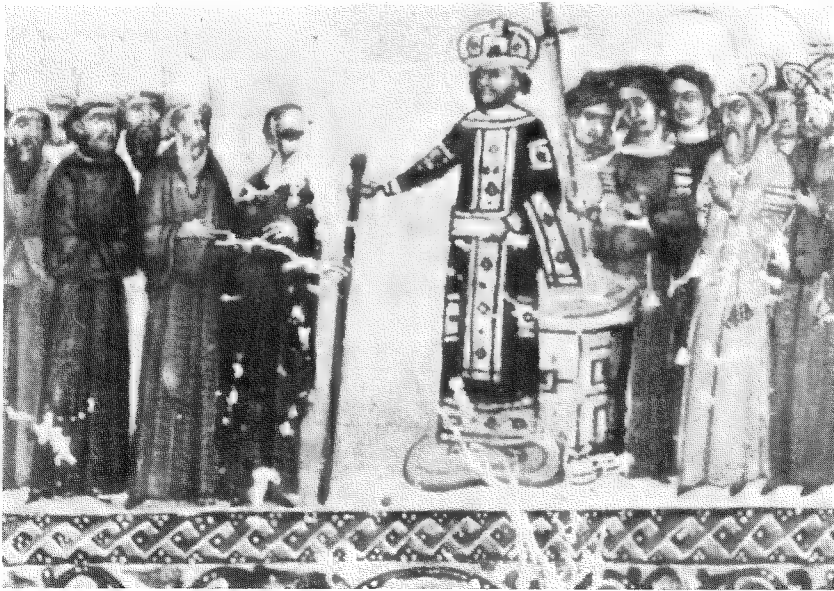
48. Saint Peter in prison, Staro Nagoričino



49. Penitential procession, Vatican Menologium



50. Consecration of altar, *Paris. graec. 543*



51. Resignation of Gregory of Nazianzus, *Paris. graec.* 543



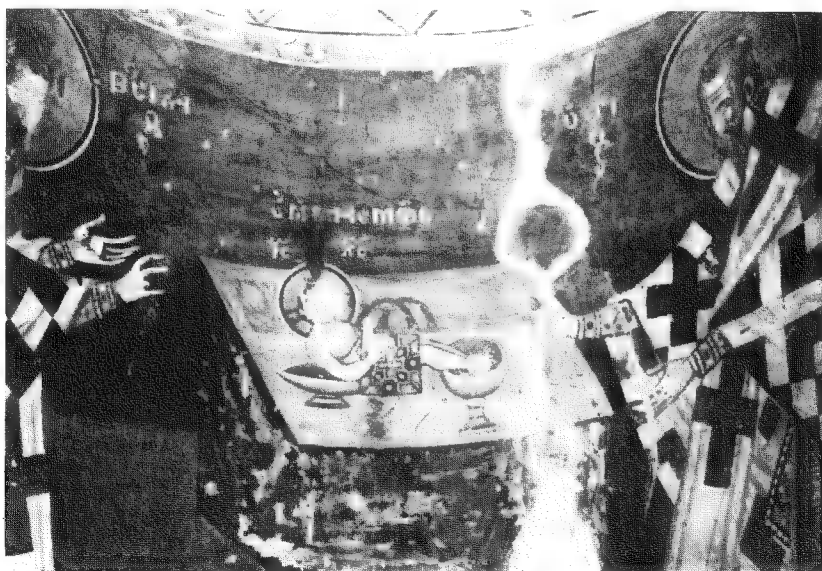
52. Veneration scene, *Hamilton Psalter*



53. Christ in majesty, San Vitale, Ravenna



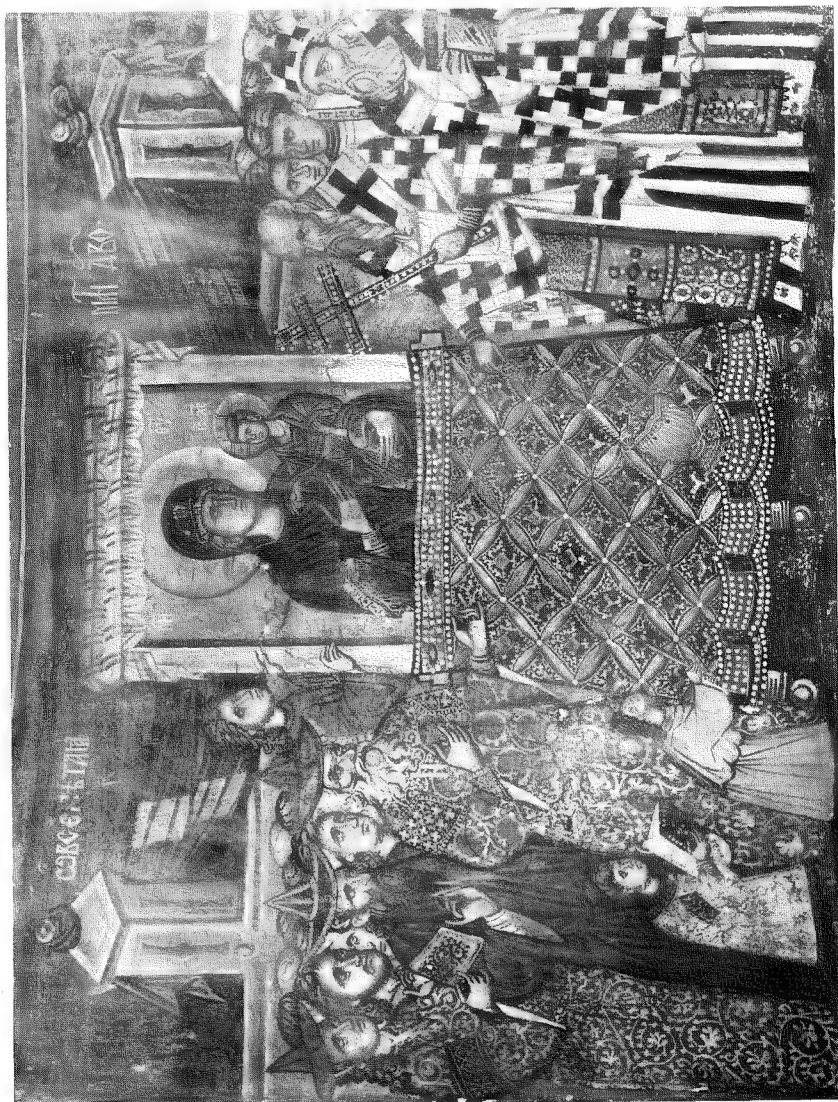
54. Portraits of bishops, Saint Sophia, Ohrid



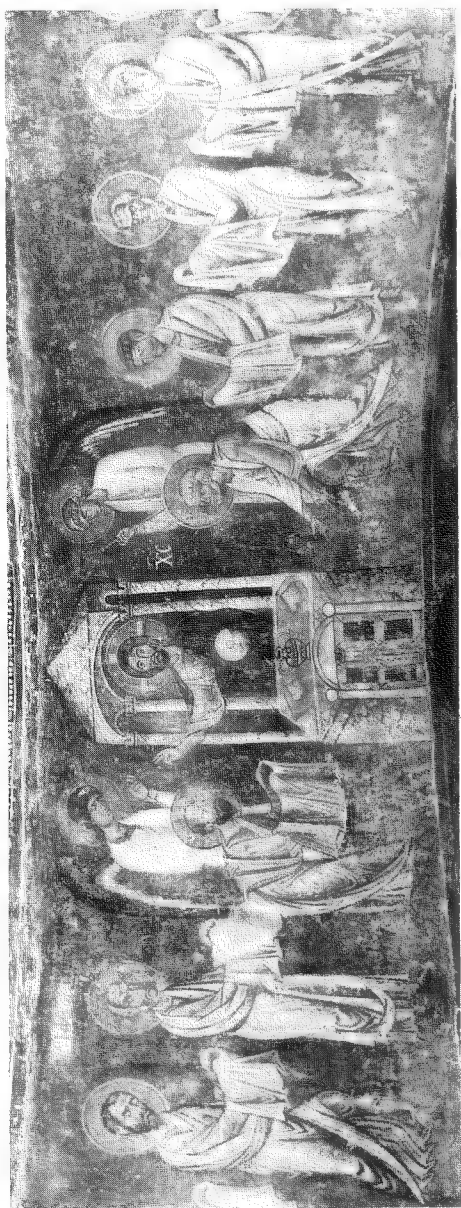
55. *Melismos*, Donja Kamenica



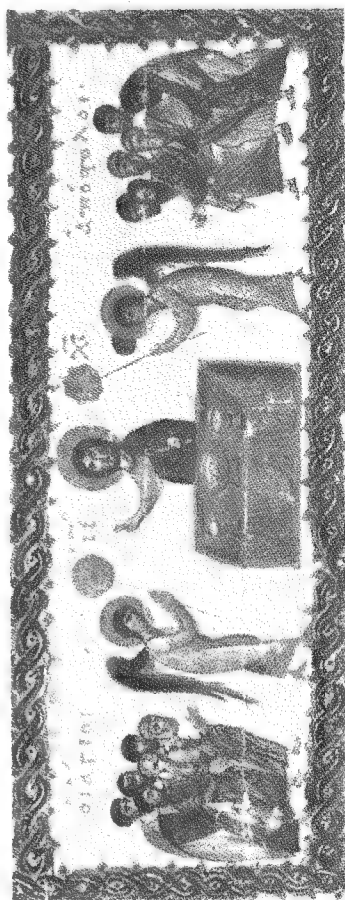
56. *Melismos*, Milutin's Church, Studenica



57. *Akathistos*
scene, Monastery
of Marko



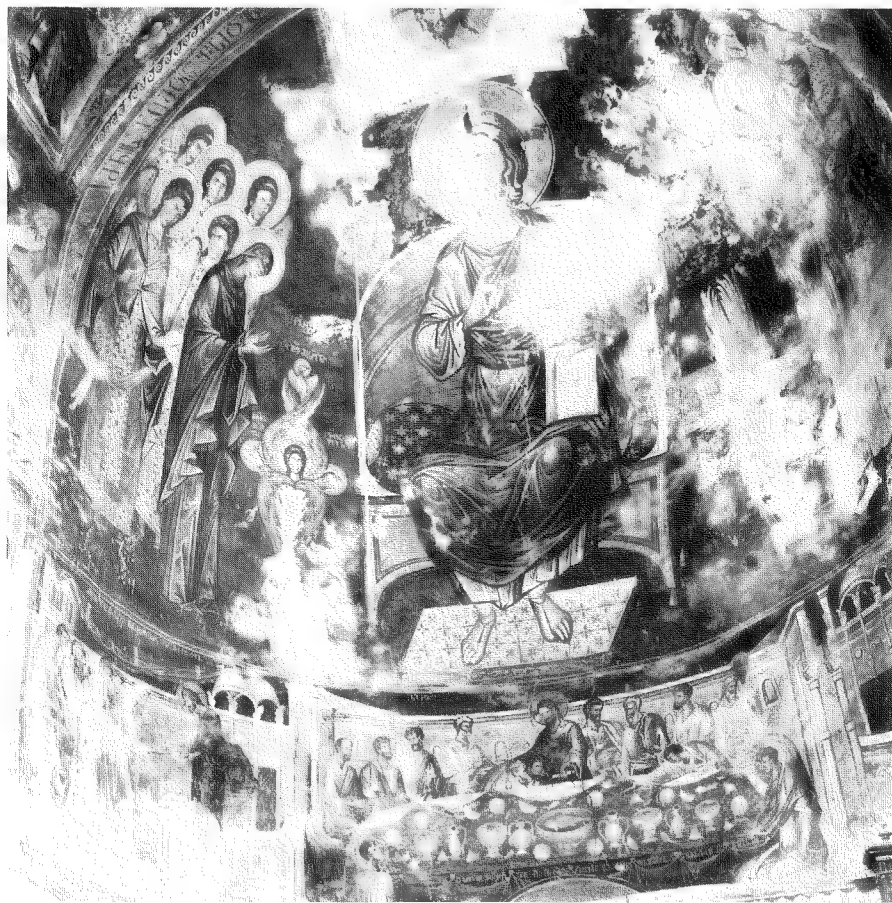
58. Communion
of the Apostles,
Saint Sophia, Ohrid



59. Frontispiece to
Anaphora, Jerusalem
Stavrou 109



60. Apse programme, Čučer



61. Apse programme, Ubisi



62. Celestial liturgy, Ravanica



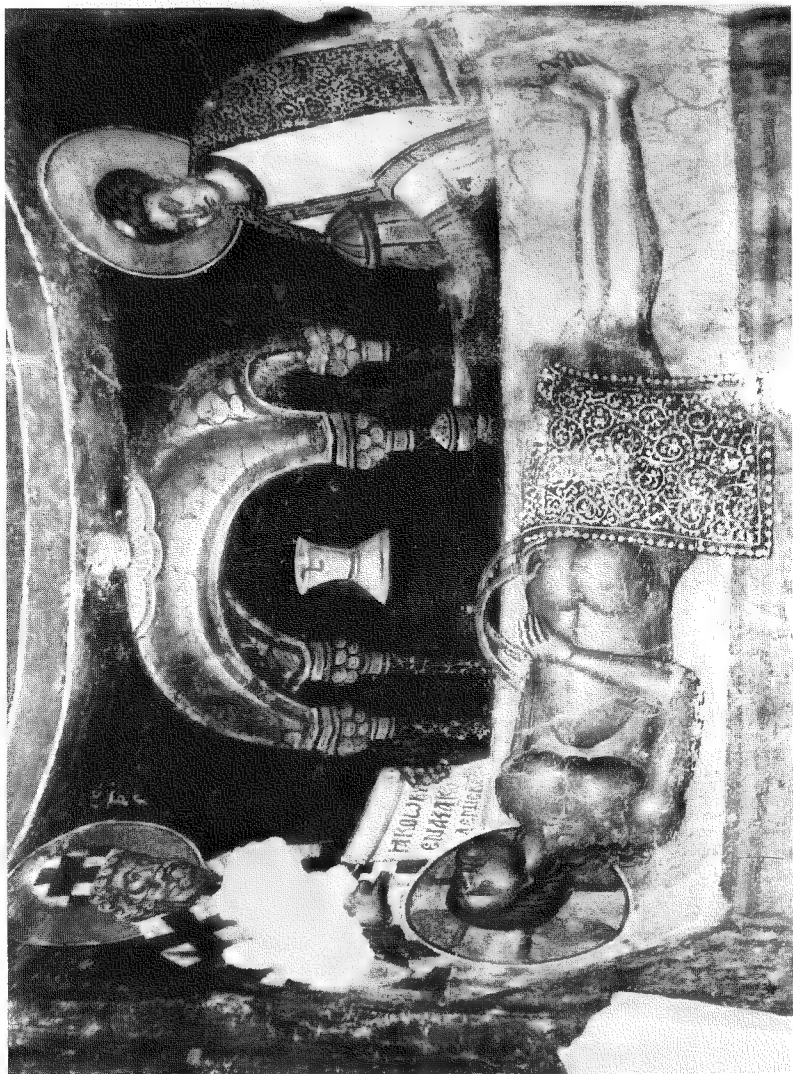
63. Christ as patriarch, Lesnovo



64. Celestial liturgy, Xeropotamou paten



65. Celestial liturgy, Monastery of Marko



66. Rite of prothesis, Monastery of Marko

BIBLIOGRAPHY

The following abbreviations are used for the more frequently quoted works:

- AB* *Analecta Bollandiana*
Acta *Acta ad archaeologiam et artem pertinentia*
 (Institutum Romanum Norvegiae)
Art Bull *The Art Bulletin*
Babić, Chapelles annexes Gordana Babić, *Les chapelles annexes des églises byzantines* (Paris, 1969)
Bank, Byzantine Art Alisa Bank, *Byzantine Art in the Collections of the U.S.S.R.* (Leningrad/Moscow, 1965)
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BHG F. Halkin, *Bibliotheca hagiographica graeca*, 3rd ed. (Brussels, 1957)
Bornert, Commentaires byzantins R. Bornert, *Les commentaires byzantins de la divine liturgie* (Paris, 1966)
Brightman, Liturgies F. E. Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern & Western*, I. *Eastern Liturgies* (Oxford, 1896), reprinted (Oxford, 1965)
Byz *Byzantion*
BZ *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*
CA *Cahiers archéologiques*
Cabasilas, Divine liturgie Nicolas Cabasilas, *Explication de la divine liturgie*, ed. R. Bornert, etc. (Paris, 1967)
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- ZRVI *Zbornik Radova Vizantoloskog Instituta*

INDEXES

I. GENERAL INDEX

Persons are generally listed under their first name. This is invariably the case for emperors (Alexius I Comnenus) and patriarchs of Constantinople (Michael Cerularius). Churches are listed under their locality, so far as possible with its modern name. However, for convenience, those in Cappadocia are listed together. The region or country is only given for the less familiar churches.

- Agathon, pope (678–681), 170
 Agnellus of Ravenna, *Liber pontificalis*, 180 n.75
 Akathistos, hymn, illustrated, 64–65, 78, 155, 162
 Alexius I Comnenus, emperor (1081–1118), 207, 236
 prostagma (1107), 243
 Amphilocius, Pseudo-, *Life of Basil*, 91, 94–95, 100, 190, 194–196, 229, 230
 Anastasius Bibliothecarius, 189, 234
 Anastasius the Persian, *Encomium* of, 11–12
 Andrew the Fool, *Life* of, 11, 138
 angels, 27, 178, 220
 Anna Comnena, *Alexiad*, 243
Anthologia Palatina, 104 n.96, 172 n.40
 antitype, 209, 213, 246
 Antony IV, patriarch (1389–1390, 1391–1397), 245
 Antony of Novgorod, *Pilgrim Book*, 153, 165
Apostoleion, illustrated, 38, 41
Apostolic Constitutions & Tradition, 136;
 see also *Didascalia apostolorum*
 apostolicity, 132, 135, 161, 168, 240
 apse, 65–67, 78, 81, 100, 164, 171–212, 214–217, 219–224, 225–232
 Aquileia, basilica, 132
 archon, 27, 33
 Arians, 99, 169, 187, 214
 Arilje, S. Achilles, 143, 202, 224
 Arius, 104, 110, 187 n.116
 Armazi (Georgia), church, 81 n.282
 Armenia, see Kars; Mren
 Arsenius, patriarch (1255–1259, 1261–1265), 244
 Asinou (Cyprus), church, 15
 Ateni (Georgia), church, 15
 Athanasius of Alexandria, *Homily*, 182 n.81
 Athanasius, Pseudo-, *Commentary on Psalms*, 60 nn.161 & 163
 Athens, Loverdan icon, 114
 Athos, monasteries
 Dochiariou, 219
 Hilandar, 93, 99
 Xeropotamou, pater, 82, 219
 Attaliates, Michael, *Diataxis*, 183 n.86, 184 n.94
 autocephaly, 176
 Bačkovó, ossuary chapel, 200
 Balsamon, Theodore, canonist, 14, 17, 20, 22, 23, 26, 27, 29, 105, 159
 baptism, rite, 113, 125–130, 218–219
 Barlaam & Joasaph, illustrated, 45–47, 119, 123, 124, 126, 154

- Barnasuphius of Gaza, *Letter*, 210
n.231
- Basil I, emperor (867–886), 70, 128,
172–173, 186–187, 240
- Basil of Caesarea, theologian, 65, 111,
149, 189–190
- Basil of Seleucia, *Homily*, 21 n.98
basileia, 119, 244–245
- Bawit (Egypt), chapel 28, 218
- Berende (Bulgaria), church 107, 223
- Bijelo Polje (Montenegro), SS. Peter &
Paul, 224
- Bogorodica, *see* Virgin Mary
- Boiana (Bulgaria), S. Nicolas, 142
- Brescia, Museo Queriniiano, ivory coffer,
168
- Cabasilas, Nicolas, liturgist, 23, 159,
222
- calendars
icon, 78, 80, 151
manuscript, 53–54, 80, 154, n.205
wall, 78, 80, 150, 151, 153, 155
- Calydon, Heroon, 167
- canon tables, 168
- Cappadocia, 12, 174, 177, 183, 192, 222,
225–232
- Cappadocia, churches (numbers as
currently used for specific regions)
- Çavuşin, Pigeon House, 229
- Cemil, S. Michael the Archangel, 202
n.170
- Eski Gümüş, 15
- Göreme
- 7. Tokalı, 91, 132, 133, 190, 222
n.307, 230, 232
- 11. S. Eustathius, 228
- 15a. Chapel near Elmalı, 227
- 29. Kılıçlar, 185, 190, 222 n.307, 226,
232
- Güllü Dere
- 3. Church of Three Crosses, 228
- 4–5. Ayvalı, 140–141, 174, 227, 231
- Hasan Dağı, Canlı, 194 n.144
- Ortahisar, Balkan Dere 3(4), 91, 125,
139, 192, 229, 232
- Ortaköy, S. George, 199 n.154
- Peristrema
- 5. Pürenli seki, 229
- 6. Ağaç altı, 141
- 8. Yılanlı, 227
- 12. Bezirana, 205
- 14. Bahattan samanlığı, 230
- 15. Direkli, 20, 21, 230–231
- Cappadocia, churches—*contd.*
- Sinasos
- Holy Apostles, 228
- S. Basil, 12
- Tavşanlı, 226
- Soğanlı
- Balık, 228
- S. Barbara, 21
- catechism, 180–181
- chalices, decorated, 81
- chapels, 109 n.125, 125, 132, 142, 183,
184, 190, 202 n.180, 205
see also diaconicon; prothesis
- charism, mystical, 248–249
- Chester, Grosvenor Museum,
‘Ecclesiastical stone’, 19
- Chomatianus, Demetrius, canonist, 18
- Choniatas, Nicetas, theologian, 210, 252
- Choricus of Gaza, *Laudatio Marciani*,
185
- Christ Child, Vision of, 209–210
- Christology, 2–4, 7, 10, 11, 19, 22, 24,
28, 32, 86, 110, 113, 145, 164–165,
178–179, 187–189, 196–198
- chronicles, illustrated, 41–45, 78, 95
n.48, 131, 161
- Coccinobaphus, *see* James
- Codex Theodosianus*, 9
- Codinus, Pseudo-, *see* *De officiis*
- coins, 121–122, 167 n.13
- consecration of altar, rite, 159
- consecration of bishop, rite, 11, 134–135,
221
- Constantine I, emperor (306–337), 2, 60,
105, 147, 169, 178
- Constantine VII, emperor (913–959), 174
see also *De cerimoniis*
- Constantine IX Monomachus, emperor
(1042–1055), 176, 224, 229
- Constantine of Rhodes, *Holy Apostles*,
186–187
- Constantinople, 86, 145, 147, 156, 162,
173, 175, 182, 190, 193–194, 197,
233, 242
- Chrysotriclinus, 172
- Forum, 169
- Constantinople, churches
- Blachernae, 147, 152
- Bodrum Cami, 190
- Chalkoprateia, 152
- Golden Palace, of the, 165
- Holy Apostles, 93, 156, 157, 168, 183
n.90, 186–187
- Kariye Cami, parecclesion, 184

- Constantinople, churches—*contd.*
 Pantocrator, 143 n.151
 S. Artemius, 81 n.282
 S. Euphemia, 86
 S. George at the Mangana, 224
 S. John Studius, 63–64, 65, 139, 183, 215, 248
 S. Polyeuctus, 104 n.96, 132
 S. Sophia, 11, 102, 104, 105, 153, 155, 172–173, 183, 224, 233–234, 235, 238
 Virgin of the Pharos, 171–172
 coronation, rite, 119–120
 councils, church
 I Nicaea (325), 94, 99, 104, 110
 I Constantinople (381), 102
 Ephesus (431), 105, 110
 Chalcedon (451), 11, 14, 170, 242
 II Constantinople (553), 170
 in Trullo (691), 11, 246
 II Nicaea (787), 242
 IV Constantinople (869), 11, 26–27
 II Lyons (1274), 243
 Florence (1438), 244
 Cozia (Rumania), church, 104, 150
 Čučer (Macedonia), S. Nikita, 205, 216
 cupola, 78, 164–165, 168, 192, 199, 217–219
 Cyprian of Antioch & Carthage, 88 n.16
 Cyprus, 222
 Hermitage of Neophytus, 205, 223
 S. Spyridon, 98
 see also Asinou; Koutsovendis; Lagoudera; Perachorio
 Cyril Loukaris, patriarch (1612, 1620–1623), 30
 Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catechism*, 181
 Cyril, Pseudo-, *Homily*, 210–211
- Dabnište (Macedonia), church, 202, 206
damnatio memoriae, 169–170
 Daphni, monastery, 176–177, 222 n.307
 Daphnopates, Theodore, *Life of Theodore the Studite*, 244 n.19
 David, New, 2, 243
 David plates, 122
 Dečani, Pantocrator, 28, 129, 203, 222 n.307
De cerimoniis, 11, 26, 120, 143, 155
De officiis, 17, 23, 26, 27, 30 n.152, 80, 120, 136 n.108, 234
 Demetrius of Lampe, theologian, 208
 diaconicon, 175–176, 220, 234
Diataxis, 80 n.281, 236, 238
- Didascalia apostolorum*, 164
 Dionysius of Fournà, *Painter's Guide*, 204 n.194
 Dionysius, Pseudo-, theologian, 27, 134, 166, 215, 221, 248–249
 diptych, liturgical, 169
 Domentijan, *Life of Sava I*, 108
 Donja Kamenica (Serbia), Bogorodica, 202, 206
 Dura Europos, 167
- Edessa, cathedral, 189 n.123, 201 n.168
 Elasson, Panagia Olympiotissa, 218
 Elias of Crete, theologian, 71
 Elpius the Roman, *see* Ulpius
 emperor, 1–4, 27, 243–245
encheirion, 7, 13, 21–22, 191
 Ephrem of Cherson, *Miracle of Clement*, 49
epignation, *see encheirion*
 epigraph on icons, 8
epimanikia, 20–21, 22–23
 epiphany, *see parousia*
 Epitaphios, 144, 161
epitrachelion, 13, 19–20, 22–23, 191
 Eucharist, doctrine of, 5, 178, 187–189, 197–198, 208, 213; *see also* liturgy
 Euchologion, 64, 223, 236–237
 Eusebius, *Historia ecclesiastica*, 25 nn.119 & 120
 Eusebius of Alexandria, *Homily*, 206
 Eusebius of Pamphylia, *Acts of Sylvester*, 60 n.167
 Eustratius, *Life of Eutychius*, 11 n.19
 Eustratius of Nicaea, theologian, 208
 Euthymius of Iviron, *Barlaam & Joasaph*, 45 n.66
 Eutychius, patriarch (552–565, 575–582), 170
ex voto, 80 n.275, 169, 180 n.75, 183 n.86
- Faras (Nubia), cathedral, 10, 12
 Florence, S. Maria Novella, 18
 frontispieces, 37–41, 47 n.78, 68
- Gaza, S. Sergius, 185
 George of Alexandria, *Life of John Chrysostom*, 102, 113–114
 Georgia, 183, 185, 192, 203 n.186, 231
 see also Armazi; Ateni; Ishkhani; Kintzvissi; Timotheoubani; Ubisi
 Germanus, patriarch (715–730), 5, 189, 197, 234, 247
 see also Historia ecclesiastica

Germigny-des-Prés, church, 180 n.75
 Glycas, Michael, *Chronicle*, 106
 Gospels, illustrated, 61, 81
 Gračanica, monastery, 123, 124, 141, 149, 154 n.205, 219
 Gradac, Annunciation, 92 n.32
 Grado Chair, 83, 87, 90–91, 127, 129, 132, 133, 135
 Gregory of Nazianzus, patriarch (379–381), 26 n.123, 68–71, 111, 158, 182, 211 n.242, 219 n.288, 245–246
 Gregory II, pope (715–731) *Letter to Germanus*, 186
 Gregory of Decapolis, *Homily*, 210
 Gregory of Nyssa, theologian, 26 n.123
 Gregory Palamas of Thessaloniki, theologian, 211, 221
 Gregory the Priest, *Life of Gregory of Nazianzus*, 47, 69 n.217, 88, 95, 100

Halberstadt, Domschatz, paten, 82
 head-dress, 29–30
 hegumen, 27
 Helena of Serbia, death, 140 n.134
 heresy, 254
 see also Arians; Iconoclasts;
 Monothelites
 hierarchy, 79, 82, 164–167, 189, 192, 199, 215, 231, 249
historia, 185, 189
Historia ecclesiastica, 5, 22, 24, 189, 192, 197, 201 n.168, 209, 211, 233–234
 Holy doors, 81
 Holy Spirit, 134; *see also* liturgy,
 Epiclesis
 homilies, illustrated, 67–72, 77, 109, 141–142, 158
 Hosios Loukas, 105, 176–177, 222 n.307
hypertimos, 14

Iconoclasts, 4, 43, 55–56, 110, 187–189, 197, 214
 Iconophiles, 4, 55 n.127, 110, 186–189
 iconostasis, *see* templon
 icons, 79–81, 92 n.32, 106, 111, 114, 131, 142 n.147, 145, 154 n.205, 175, 182, 187–188, 197, 211
 Ignatius the Deacon, *Life of Tarasius*, 86, 98 n.66
 Ishkhani [Ishan] (Turkey), church, 174
 Istanbul
 Archaeological Museum, Stuma
 paten, 82 n.289
 see also Constantinople

Italus, John, theologian, 207–208
 ivories, 83, 123, 183
 see also Brescia; Grado Chair; Trier
 Iznik, *see* Nicaea

James the Apostle, son of Alphaeus, 25 n.120
 James the Apostle, son of Zebedee, 25 n.120
 James of Coccinobaphus, Homilies, illustrated, 72
 James of Jerusalem, Brother of the Lord, 25 n.120, 237
 Jerusalem, 242
 Mount Sion, 183 n.90, 184
 S. Sabbas, 73 n.242, 183 n.90
 John the Baptist, cult of, 182–183
 John I Chrysostom, patriarch (398–404), 65, 71–72, 73, 95, 107, 112–113, 157, 169, 181, 209, 251–254
 John III Scholasticus, patriarch (565–577), 170
 John VII Grammaticus, patriarch (837–843), 11, 96, 187 n.116
 John VIII Xiphilinus, patriarch (1065–1075), 29 n.145
 John XIV Calecas, patriarch (1334–1347), 29
 John II Comnenus, emperor (1118–1143), 221
 John VI Cantacuzenus, emperor (1347–1354), 29 nn.145 & 146
 John of Citrus, canonist, 18 n.70
 John of Damascus, theologian, 45 n.66, 169, 186, 244
 John the Deacon, of Naples, *Chronicle*, 169 n.24
 John of Ephesus, *Historia ecclesiastica*, 170
 John Mauropous, of Euchaita, theologian, 93, 111–114, 244
 John of Thessaloniki, theologian, 141
 Justinian I, emperor (527–565), 93, 170, 196
 Justiniana Prima, 176

Kafioni (Mani), S. Theodore, 203
 Kagankatvatsi, Moses, *History*, 185 n.98
kalyptra, *see* head-dress
 Kalyvia-Kouvara, S. Peter, 223
 Kambia (Boeotia), S. Nicolas, 223
 Karan (Serbia), Bela crkva, 203 n.182, 222 n.307
 Kars (Turkey), Holy Apostles, 168

- Kastoria, 222
icon, 142 n.147
- Kastoria, churches
S. Athanasius, 141 n.140
SS. Cosmas & Damian, 222 n.307
Panagia Mavriotissa, parecclesion, 202
n.180, 205, 206
Taxiarchs, 202, 205, 222 n.307
- Kiev
S. Michael, 215
S. Sophia, 15, 21, 175, 177, 193, 198,
222 n.307
Trinity, chapel of S. Cyril, 92
- Kintzvisi (Georgia), church, 203 n.186
- Koutsovendis (Cyprus) S. John
Chrysostom, 199
- Kovalyovo, Transfiguration, 18, 217
- Kurbinovo, S. George, 200, 202, 204,
209, 223
- Lagoudera (Cyprus), Panagia, 200, 204
- Lectionary, illustrated, 61–64, 71, 77,
154 n.205
- Leningrad, Hermitage, reliquary, 206
- Leo III, pope (795–816), 13, 19, 21, 84
- Leo VI, emperor (886–912), 102 n.89,
113, 146, 173, 224
- Leo of Ohrid, theologian, 176, 194
- Leo the Tuscan, liturgist, 191 n.135, 236
- Lesново (Macedonia), Archangel
Michael, 114, 143, 216
- Liber pontificalis*, 11 n.22
- liturgy, Eucharistic 60, 65–67, 169, 204
Anaphora, 195, 207, 218 n.283, 233
Cherubicon, 220
communion, 195, 214
Great Entrance, 190, 207, 209, 213,
215, 217–219, 233
Melismos, 205–206, 208, 212, 238
opening doxology, 217
prothesis, 184, 190, 191 n.135,
204–205, 207, 211 n.240, 220, 223,
232–238
Trisagion, 203 n.186
- liturgy, Eucharistic, prayers
catechumens, 67, 203 n.186
Cherubicon, 66, 204–205, 208, 210,
220 n.302
communion: elevation, 195;
preparation, 66
consecration: *ekphonesis*, 204; secret,
66
Ectene after Gospel, 66, 103
Epiclesis, 209 n.227, 222
- liturgy, Eucharistic, prayers—*contd.*
intercession for Constantinople, 67
proskomide, 66, 195, 211 n.240, 218,
220 n.302, 233
- Lives of saints, illustrated, 47–51, 109;
see also Metaphrastic Lives
- Ljuboten (Macedonia), S. Nicolas, 212
- London, Bradley collection, icon, 131
- Macarius of Ancyra, theologian, 27, 30,
245
- Macarius of Magnesia, theologian, 210
n.231
- Macedonian Renaissance, 36, 174
- Manastir (Macedonia), S. Nicolas, 203,
206
- mandyas*, 30
- Mani, 192
- Manuel I Comnenus, emperor
(1143–1180), 208, 243–244, 248
- Marko, monastery of, Sušica
(Macedonia), 105, 142, 213, 220
- marriage, rite, 123
- Matthew I, patriarch (1397–1410), 224
n.321, 247, 249
- Maximus the Confessor, theologian, 134
n.98, 180, 210, 234
- Melnik (Bulgaria), S. Nicolas, 132–133,
212
- Menologium, *see* Synaxary
- Mesarites, Nicolas, *Holy Apostles*, 25
n.119, 93, 165, 186–187
- Messianic kingship, *see basileia*
- Metaphrastic Lives, illustrated, 25 n.119,
47–51, 66, 77, 96, 102 n.89, 147,
153, 222
- Meteora, monasteries
Barlaam, 93 n.38
Hypapante, 223
- Methodius I, patriarch (843–847), 55
n.127, 187 n.116
- Michael I Cerularius, patriarch
(1043–1058), 20, 84
- Michael III, emperor (842–867), 148,
171–172, 183
- Michael Italicus, theologian, 243
- Milan, S. Aquilino, 178
- Mileševa, monastery, 108
- Mistra
Afendiko [Brontochion], 26, 114
Metropolis [S. Demetrius], 33
Pantanassa, 26, 219
Peribleptos, 219
- Monothelites, 170, 199, 203

- Morača (Montenegro), monastery, icon, 92 n.32
- Moschus, John, *Spiritual Meadow*, 93 n.40
- Mren (Turkey), church, 10
- mystagogy, 165, 180–181, 189, 197, 254
see also *Historia ecclesiastica*
- Myra, S. Nicolas, 86, 89, 145
- myron, 159
- Naples, Stephanía (church), 169, 177
- narthex, 164, 166, 181, 221, 224–225
- Nazianzus, S. Mamas, 158
- Nea Moni, 176
- Nerezi, S. Panteleimon, 15–16, 143–144, 200, 202, 204
- New Testament, illustrated, 54, 61–64, 127, 132, 165
- Nicaea [Iznik], Dormition, 179, 190, 217
- Nicephorus I, patriarch (806–815), 8 n.7, 13, 19, 21, 84, 110, 191, 211 n.244, 234 n.362
- Nicetas of Ancyra, theologian, 242, 244
- Nicetas of Heraclea theologian, 247
- Nicolas III Grammaticus, patriarch (1084–1111), *Responsa*, 235
- Nicolas of Andida, liturgist, 210–211, 220, 222, 234
- Nicolas of Methone, theologian, 248
- Nikodim, archbishop, *Typikon*, 183 n.90
- Nilus, patriarch (1379–1388), 138
- Nilus of Ancyra, monk, 26 n.123, 165
- Ohrid, 176, 222, 224
- Kalište, Dormition, 107–108, 223
- Peribleptos [S. Clement], 17, 105, 108; icon, 80, 216; parecclesion of S. Gregory, 209 n.227
- SS. Constantine & Helena, 223
- S. John Kaneo, 203 n.187
- S. Nicolas Bolnički, 18
- S. Sophia, 15, 19, 91 n.29, 100, 107, 112, 149, 175–176, 177, 179, 190–191, 193–196, 198, 207, 222; parecclesion of S. John the Baptist, 18
- oikoumene*, 181, 196, 221, 224, 245
- Old Testament, illustrated, 54–61, 119, 122, 138, 165, 242–243
- omophorion*, 9–13
- orarion*, 7
- Ordinal, 64, 67, 134–136
- Origen, *Commentary*, 25 n.120
- Pachymeres, George, *Commentary*, 134
- Pancratius of Taormina, *Life of*, 185
- Panteugenēs, Soterichus, theologian, 208
- Parastaseis*, 169
- parecclesion, see chapels
- parousia*, 2, 178, 188, 197
- paten, 81–82, 185, 195
- Patmos, monastery of S. John icon, 79 n.266, 103 n.93
- Panagia chapel, 114
- patriarch, 23, 120
- pattern book, 35, 42–43
- Peć, patriarchate, 18, 224
- Bogorodica, 30, 92, 131, 219, 223
- Holy Apostles, 105, 143, 183, 212, 223
- Pentarchy, 175, 194, 198
- Perachorio (Cyprus), church, 222 n.307
- Peter of Alexandria, Vision, 94
- Peter of Antioch, *Letter to Michael Cerularius*, 20
- phelonion*, 13–16, 22–23
- Philotheus Coccinus, patriarch (1354–1355, 1364–1376)
Hermeneia, 237, 238
Letter to Alexius of Novgorod, 14–15
- Photius, patriarch (858–867, 877–886), 27, 39, 128, 173, 222
- Physiologus*, illustrated, 73–76
- Poganovo (Serbia), monastery, 114–115
- polystavriion*, 13–16, 22–23
- pomata*, 30
- Poreč [Parenzo], Euphrasian basilica, 179
- portico, see narthex
- Prespa, region, 222
- Eleousa, 205
- Panagia Porphyra, 202 n.180, 205
- Prilep, S. Demetrius, 202 n.170
- Prizren, Bogorodica Ljeviška, 17, 142, 202, 224
- Proclus, patriarch (434–446), 21 n.98
- proscotide, see *prospora*
- prayer of, see liturgy
- prospora*, 191 n.135, 204, 213, 223, 232–238
- prothesis
- chapel, 94, 175, 176, 190, 200, 211, 212–214, 216 n.276, 219, 220, 231, 233–234
- rite, see liturgy
- Prudentius, *Peristephanou*, 85
- Psača (Macedonia), S. Nicolas, 141 n.140

- Psalms, illustrated: iv, 140; v, 56, 99;
 xxi, 100; xxiii, 55; xxv, 59, 110;
 xxvi, 57, 96; xxxi, 128; xxxii, 56, 99;
 xxxiii, 57, 58, 77, 191; xxxvi, 58;
 xxxix, 95; xli, 113; xlv, 217; xlv, 58,
 242; xlviii, 55, 58, 59, 101, 103, 114;
 xlix, 58; li, 55; lvii, 128; lix, 60
 nn.162 & 163; lxii, 60 n.161; lxiv,
 56; lxv, 57, 58, 59, 149; lxvii, 128;
 lxviii, 56, 57, 132; lxxi, 57 n.143;
 lxxiii, 99; lxxviii, 56; xciv, 155;
 xcvi, 57, 58, 77, 154–155; cix, 191;
 cxviii, 141–143; cxix, 57; cxxvii, 56;
 cl, 59
 Psalter, illustrated, 55–61, 67, 132, 149,
 191
 Psellus, Michael, *Instruction on the*
liturgy, 211
 Pyrgos, Transfiguration, 202

 Ramaća (Serbia), S. Nicolas, 12, 89
 Ravanica, Ascension, 225, 227
 Ravenna, 12, 171, 177
 Baptisteries, 218
 S. Apollinare in Classe, 10, 99, 169,
 180 n.75, 181, 200
 S. Apollinare Nuovo, 9, 31, 168, 184
 S. John the Evangelist, 180 n.75
 S. Vitale, 10, 179–181, 196, 200
 Throne of Maximian, 28, 155 n.213
 relics, 144–158
 reliquaries, 83–84, 206
rhabdos, 26–29
 rolls, liturgical, 38, 65–67, 100, 166, 204
 Rome, 177, 179
 Basilica Emiliana, 167, 169
 SS. Cosma e Damiano, 179
 S. Crisogono, 168
 SS. Giovanni e Paolo, 85
 S. Lorenzo fuori le Mura, 179 n.67
 S. Marco, 179 n.67
 S. Maria Antiqua, 171, 199, 203
 S. Maria in Gradellis, 91
 S. Maria Maggiore, 122, 201
 S. Paolo fuori le Mura, 168
 S. Prassede, 179 n.67
 S. Pudenziana, 178
 S. Teodoro, 179
 S. Venanzio, 168
 Tomb of Cornelius, 169 n.23
 Rubik (Albania), church, 223

sakkos, 16–19, 22–23, 32–33
 Samari (Messenia), church, 206, 209

 Sava I of Serbia, *Life of Symeon*
Nemanja, 148
 Savina (Montenegro), church, 185, 216
 seals, 82–83
 Seamless Robe of Christ, 213–214
 Sebaste (Phrygia), *see* Uşak Selçikler
 Second Coming, *see parousia*
 Seides, Nicetas, theologian, 242
 Seirikari (Crete), Holy Apostles, 202, 206
 Seventy Apostles, 25–26
 Simocatta, Theophylact, *Chronicle*, 123
 Sinai, S. Catherine's, icons, 79, 86, 139,
 154 n.205, 182
skevophylakion, 233–234
 Sopoćani, Trinity, 108, 110, 135, 141,
 143, 148, 202, 205 n.201, 212, 222
 n.307, 223
 Staničenje (Serbia), S. Petka, 107, 223
 Staro Nagoričino, S. George, 106, 138,
 150, 151, 153, 154 n.205, 199, 216,
 222 n.307
 steatites, 79 n.269
 Stephen the Deacon, relics, 145–147
 Stethatus, Nicetas, theologian, 248–249
 Sticherarion, illustrated, 64
 Studenica
 King's church, 16, 148
 Radoslav narthex, 203
 SS. Joachim & Anna, 207, 219
 Sučevića (Rumania), monastery, 152
 Suzdal (Russia), bronze doors,
 151–152, 158
 Svekani (Macedonia), S. Constantine, 215
 Sylvester, pope (314–335), 60 n.167
 Symeon Magister, *Chronicle*, 106
 Symeon of Thessaloniki, liturgist, 11, 14,
 18, 22, 26, 27 n.123, 29 n.143, 30
 n.153, 34 n.167, 81, 105, 123, 142
 n.147, 159, 211, 219 n.292, 221
 Synaxary, 25 n.120, 36, 47, 51–53, 63,
 66, 76–77, 78, 80, 107, 109, 154
 n.205, 174, 222, 231
Synodikon of Orthodoxy, 8 n.7, 186
 synods
 of 649 (Lateran), 171, 199
 of (Hiereia), 8 n.7
 of 1082, 208
 of 1156, 208
 of 1166, 208, 224
 of 1409, 30, 134
 Syropoulos, John, *Memoirs*, 8 n.7, 27

 Tarasius, patriarch (784–806), 86, 242
 templon, 80–81, 183 n.86, 184

- Theodore II Lascaris, emperor
(1254–1258), 244
- Theodore Lector, *Historia tripartita*, 169
- Theodore of Mopsuestia, *Homily*, 221
- Theodore of Paphos, *Life of Spyridon*, 98,
99, 105
- Theodore the Studite, theologian, 8 n.7,
55 n.127, 139, 186, 187 n.116, 244
- Theodoret, *Commentary*, 60 n.162
- Theodosius I, emperor (379–395), 148,
222
- Theophanes of Caesarea, *Life of
Theodore Graptus*, 110 n.128
- Theophanes Continuatus, *Chronicle*, 42
- theophany, *see parousia*
- Thessaloniki, 12, 53, 171
- Holy Apostles, 22
- Panagia Chalkeon, 175, 192, 198
- S. Demetrius, 10, 80, 145, 169;
parecclesion of S. Euthymius, 109
n.125, 125, 132
- S. George, 9, 14, 31
- S. Nicolas Orphanus, 104, 142, 222
n.307
- Three Hierarchs, cult of, 111
- Timotesoubani (Georgia), church, 203
n.186
- Timothy of Jerusalem, Pseudo-, liturgist,
211 n.241
- Tornices, George, *Letter*, 29 n.145
- Tours, S. Martin, 85
- treatises, theological, illustrated, 72–76
- Trebizond
- S. Sabbas, 203
- Theoskepastos, 203
- Treska, S. Andrew, 138, 205, 216
- Trier, Domschatz, ivory, 83, 145
- Trinity, 111, 208
- Triumph of Orthodoxy, 9, 145, 150, 162,
168, 171, 182, 188–190, 197
- Ubisi (Georgia), church, 216
- Ukhtanes, *History*, 93 n.36
- Ulpian the Roman, *Painter's Guide*,
106–107
- unleavened bread [azyme], 194, 196
- Uşak Selçikler [Sebaste], templon, 81
n.282
- Vatican, Museo Sacro, reliquary, 83–84
- Veljusa (Macedonia), Eleousa, 199, 200,
202, 208
- Venice
- S. Marco, 18, 148 n.178; Pala d'Oro,
25 n.120, 132, 148 n.178
- Tesoro, 81–82
- Virgin Mary, cult of, 140–141, 145, 147,
152, 182
- Volotovo, Dormition, 15, 29
- Wadi Natrun (Egypt), chapel, 140
- Washington, Dumbarton Oaks
- Cross of Michael Cerularius, 84, 104,
n.96
- Riha paten, 82 n.289, 200
- water, symbolism, 112–114
- Zemen (Bulgaria), S. John, 215–216
- Žiča, monastery, 147, 181
- Zigabenus, Euthymius, *Panoplia
dogmatica*, 40, 72, 207, 243
- Zonaras, John, canonist, 7, 14, 16, 106,
246
- Zosimus, *History*, 178 n.63

II. INDEX OF MANUSCRIPTS

All the manuscripts cited in the text are included in this index. Those which have no illustrations are marked with an asterisk*.

- Alexandria
Greek Patriarchate
35 [303] (Metaphrast), 50 n.103
- Alexandrian World Chronicle, *see*
Moscow
- Athens
Benaki Museum
5 (Menologion), 52
National Library
211 (Chrysostom), 72, 113, 191,
201–202, 209
662* (*Diataxis*), 80 n.281
2535 [*suppl.* 535] (Metaphrast), 49
2759 (Liturgical roll), 38 n.8, 66–67,
130 n.76
- Athos
Dionysiou
50 (Metaphrast), 51, 89, 147
61 (Gregory), 40
587 [740] (Lectionary), 63, 148, 151,
154, n.205, 162
Dochiarion
5 (Metaphrast), 22–23, 25 n.119, 49,
52, 96–97
Esphigmenou
14 (Metaphrast), 51, 125
34* (Euchologion), 236–237
Ivion
5 (Gospels), 39
463 (Barlaam & Joasaph), 46, 119,
129, 154
- Karakallou
24 (Gregory), 16
Kutlunus
412 (Sticherarion), 64, 67
Lavra
86 A (Lectionary), 62
422 [46 D] (Metaphrast), 48 n.82
427 [51 D] (Metaphrast), 50, 91 n.29
447 [71 D] (Metaphrast), 38 n.7, 51
n.107
449 (Amphilocius), 39 n.13
Liturgical roll 2, 68, 212
Skevophylakion Lectionary, 62, 141
Panteleimon
2 (Lectionary), 62–63, 154 n.205
6 (Gregory), 100, 139
100 (Metaphrast), 49 n.91
Pantocrator
22 (Chrysostom), 72
61 (Psalter), 55–56, 128, 191, 195
Stavronikita
3 (Metaphrast), 48 n.82
Vatopedi
456 (Lives of saints), 39, 51, 146
760 (Psalter), 128
761 (Psalter), 93
762 [610] (Psalter), 16, 167 n.10
Baltimore
Walters Art Gallery
521 (Menologion), 52, 150–151, 153
533 (*Praxapostolos*), 41
733 (Psalter), 58, 155 n.207
Barberini Psalter, *see* Vatican

- Basel
Universitätsbibliothek
A N18 (Elias of Crete), 29, 47, 71, 75,
101, 131, 133, 135
- Berlin
Staatliche Museen,
Kupferstichkabinett
78 A 9 (Hamilton Psalter), 58, 103,
128, 155–156
Staatsbibliothek
Th. graec. fol. 17 [*graec.* 255]
(Metaphrast), 50 n.103
- Bristol Psalter, *see* London
- Cambridge
University Library
Additional 720 (Gospels), 103
- Chludov Psalter, *see* Moscow
- Copenhagen
Kongelige Bibliotek
167 (Metaphrast), 47 n.78, 49
1343 (Basil), 38 n.7
- El Escorial
Biblioteca Real
19 (*Akathistos*), 65
1210* (Tornices), 29 n.145
- Erevan
Matenadaran Library
197 (Gospels), 40 n.21
- Florence
Biblioteca Laurenziana
Plut. xi.10 (Metaphrast), 50 n.97
Plut. xi.11 (Metaphrast), 50 n.97
Rabbula Gospels, 185, 195
- Genoa
Sant' Atanasio
36 (Metaphrast), 49
- Grottaferrata
Basilian Fathers
D a v (Menologion), 51
G b xiii* (Euchologion), 237
- Halki, *see* Istanbul
- Hamilton Psalter, *see* Berlin
- Istanbul
Greek Patriarchate
Halki 103 (Metaphrast), 50
Russian Institute of Archaeology, *see*
Leningrad, Academy of Sciences
- Jerusalem
Greek Patriarchate
Saba 63 + 208 (Menologion), 52
Stavrou 42 (Barlaam & Joasaph), 46
Stavrou 109 (Liturgical roll), 66, 94,
103, 110, 195 n.149, 214, 218
Taphou 14 (Gregory), 70, 95, 142
- Johannisberg (*olim*)
Liturgy of Basil*, 234
- Kiev Psalter, *see* Leningrad
- Leningrad
Academy of Sciences
Liturgical roll, 28, 65, 248 n.42
Saltykov-Šchedrin State Public Library
graec. 226* (Euchologion), 218
graec. 373 (Metaphrast), 49 n.91
graec. 379 (Barlaam & Joasaph), 46
1252 F. vi (Kiev Psalter), 58, 155
n.207, 242
- London
British Library
Add. 11870 (Metaphrast), 48, 125
Add. 19352 (Theodore Psalter), 14,
19–20, 21, 24, 27 n.123, 28, 55–59,
75, 77, 92 n.30, 95–96, 99, 100, 111,
132, 154, 215, 240–242
Add. 34060* (*Diataxis*), 238
Add. 36636 (Metaphrast), 47 n.78, 49
Add. 39626 (Gospel), 29, 40
Add. 40731 (Bristol Psalter), 191, 195
- Madrid
Biblioteca Nacional
Vitr. 26-2 (Scylitzes), 16, 28, 30, 33,
42–44, 91–92, 96, 98 n.66, 106, 110,
117–120, 121–125, 125–126,
129–130, 131, 133, 136, 142, 146,
154, 155, 161, 162
- Menologium of Basil II, *see* Vatican
- Messina
San Salvatore
27 (Metaphrast), 39, 50
- Meteora
Monastery of the Metamorphosis
552 (Metaphrast), 50 n.103
- Milan
Biblioteca Ambrosiana
E 49–50 (Gregory), 41, 68, 78, 95, 101,
104, 130, 133
E 89 inf. [1017] (Metaphrast), 50, 222
n.309

Milan

Biblioteca Ambrosiana—*contd.*

G 88 [416] (Gregory), 70, 126

I 72 sup. [65] (Chrysostom), 112–113

Moscow

Lenin State Library

F. 173 no. 100 (Hamartolus), 41–42

Pushkin Museum

Alexandrian World Chronicle, 13,
41–42, 98, 131

State Historical Museum

graec. 9 [382] (Metaphrast), 47 n.78,
50, 51, 147

graec. 146 (Gregory), 139, 158

graec. 175 [368] (Metaphrast), 47 n.78,
48

graec. 183 (Menologion), 28–29, 52,
98, 148, 151, 222 n.308

graec. 387 (Zigabenus), 40, 72

graec. 429 (*Akathistos*), 65

129 D (Chludov Psalter), 21, 55–56,
84, 128, 132, 186 n.110, 191, 195

2725 (Tomič Psalter), 59, 65

Munich

Bayerische Staatsbibliothek

slav. 4 (Serbian Psalter), 59, 66, 114

New York

Pierpont Morgan Library

609 (Lectionary), 62, 171 n.39

Oxford

Bodleian Library

Auct. E 5 13* (Euchologion), 238 n.377

Barocci 230 (Metaphrast), 47 n.78, 48

Cromwell 11* (Euchologion), 238 n.377

Cromwell 26 (Metaphrast), 47 n.78, 48

graec. th. f. 1 (Menologion), 53–54,
151, 154 n.205, 155

Paris

Bibliothèque Nationale

Coislin. 79 (Chrysostom), 40, 123

Coislin. 239 (Gregory), 88 n.16, 139

Coislin. 296* (Ulpian the Roman), 106
n.111

graec. 20 (Psalter), 199

graec. 74 (Gospels), 12, 26, 28, 55, 61,
75 n.262, 139, 215

graec. 139 (Paris Psalter), 13

graec. 510 (Gregory), 12, 13, 17, 20,
47, 68, 69–70, 76, 78, 84, 87, 88, 91,
95, 100, 101, 107, 125, 127–129, 130,
133, 138–140, 149, 159, 186 n.110,
200, 240

Paris

Bibliothèque Nationale—*contd.*

graec. 533 (Gregory), 88 n.16

graec. 543 (Gregory), 16, 18, 24, 26,
28, 70, 88 n.16, 95, 136, 142, 158

graec. 550 (Gregory), 70, 126, 142

graec. 580 + 1499 (Metaphrast), 39,
47 n.78, 49

graec. 799 (Chrysostom), 72, 73, 76,
95, 131–132

graec. 923 (*Sacra Parallela*), 39, 73,
76, 78, 99, 102, 104, 107, 119, 132
n.90

graec. 1128 (Barlaam & Joasaph),
46–47, 123, 129

graec. 1208 (Coccinobaphus), 38 n.11,
72

graec. 1242 (Cantacuzenus), 28–29, 40,
73

graec. 1378* (Macarius of Ancyra),
224 n.321

graec. 1528 (Metaphrast), 50, 151–152,
155

graec. 1561 (Menologion), 51, 153

graec. 1582* (Synaxary), 91 n.24

suppl. graec. 468 (Liturgical roll), 38
n.8

syr. 112 (Ordinal), 67

Patmos

Monastery of Saint John

709* (Euchologion), 238 n.377

719* (Euchologion), 236, 238 n.378

Liturgical roll 1 [707], 38 n.8, 65–66

Liturgical roll 2 [708], 38 n.8

Liturgical roll 14 [720], 38 n.8

Liturgical roll 22 [728], 38 n.8

Rossano

Curia Arcivescovile

Gospels, 103, 185, 191, 195, 203

Serbian Psalter, *see* Munich

Serrai

Monastery of the Prodromos

I 34, *see* Athens, National Library
2535

Sinai

Monastery of Saint Catherine

graec. 48 (Psalter), 58

graec. 339 (Gregory), 16, 24 n.111, 88
n.16, 158

graec. 346 (Gregory), 88 n.16

graec. 449 (Metaphrast), 49 n.91

graec. 500 (Metaphrast), 47 n.78, 49

Sinai

Monastery of Saint Catherine—*contd.*

graec. 512 (Metaphrast), 47 n.78, 50 n.100, 153

graec. 1020* (*Euchologion*), 238 n.378

Smyrna

Evangelical School (*olim*)

Physiologus, 47, 73–76, 99, 162 n.237

Tbilisi

Kekelidze Institute of Manuscripts

A 109 (Gregory), 70 n.221, 130, 133

A 648 (Menologion), 53 n.119, 154 n.205

Thessaloniki

Monastery of Vlatadon

3 [19] (Metaphrast), 49 n.91

Tomič Psalter, *see under* Moscow

Turin

Biblioteca Nazionale dell'Università

B II 4 [*graec.* 89] (Metaphrast), 51

C I 6 (Gregory), 28, 71, 88 n.16, 139, 158

Vatican

Biblioteca Apostolica

Barb. graec. 316* (*Euchologion*), 238 n.378

Barb. graec. 336* (Liturgy of

Chrysostom), 234 n.360

Barb. graec. 372 (Barberini Psalter), 14, 55–57, 75, 92 n.30, 99, 132

graec. 333 (Book of Kings), 138

graec. 666 (Zigabenus), 16, 40, 72

graec. 752 (Psalter), 21, 59–60, 104 n.96, 119, 124, 126, 201

graec. 755 (Isaiah), 39

graec. 766 (Pseudo-Oecumenius), 103

graec. 817 (Metaphrast), 50 n.100

graec. 859 (Metaphrast), 49 n.91

Vatican

Biblioteca Apostolica—*contd.*

graec. 1156 (Lectionary), 15, 21, 62, 153–154, 222 n.309

graec. 1162 (Coccinobaphus), 72 n.241

graec. 1228* (*Euchologion*), 238 n.378

graec. 1613 (Menologium of Basil II),

13, 17, 20, 21, 28, 30, 51–52, 76–77,

88 n.16, 91 n.29, 93, 97, 104, 105,

129, 140, 147–148, 150, 152–153,

156–157, 162, 174 n.50, 222 nn.308

& 309

graec. 1679 (Metaphrast), 47 n.78, 48, 98

graec. 1811* (*Euchologion*), 238 n.377

graec. 1927 (Psalter), 59, 201, 204

n.193

graec. 2282* (Liturgical roll), 204

n.192

lat. 9136 (Sketchbook), 9

Reg. graec. 1 (Leo Bible), 20 n.95, 39

Reg. graec. 60 (Metaphrast), 50 n.100

slav. 2 (Manasses), 41, 44, 126,

128–129, 143

Venice

Biblioteca Marciana

graec. 17 (Psalter of Basil II), 242–243

graec. 351 (Metaphrast), 49

graec. 585 [829] (Metaphrast), 50 n.100

graec. 586 [660] (Metaphrast), 48

Mekhitharist Fathers, San Lazzaro

1657 [440] (Ordinal), 67

Vienna

Nationalbibliothek

Genesis, 138, 140

hist. graec. 6 (Metaphrast), 47 n.78, 48

hist. graec. 91 (Manasses), 38

Washington

Freer Gallery of Art

56.11 (Gospels), 40 n.21, 61 n.170

III. ICONOGRAPHICAL INDEX

This is a 'lexicon' of the principal programmes, iconographical types, 'signs' and persons figuring in pictures treated in the text. For convenience, since they are particularly numerous, bishops have been listed separately in Index IV.

Abibus, martyr, relics, 146
 Abraham (O. T.), Xenophilia of, 180, 230
 see also sacrifice
 acolyte, 129, 143, 160
 Adoration of Christ, 65, 66–67, 79, 84, 179–181, 182, 196, 217–218
 altar, 94, 101, 135, 151, 158–159, 180 n.75, 185, 186, 191, 195, 200–203, 209, 214, 216–217, 219, 220
 see also communion; Eucharist
 ambo, 154, 162
Amnos
 Christ child on altar, 200, 202, 209, 212, 219, figs. 55, 56
 Dead Christ on altar, 200, 202–203, 206, 209, 213, 220, fig. 66
 Anastasius, martyr, relics, 150
 ancestors, 167, 177
 Andrew, apostle, relics, 146
 angels, 28, 58, 66, 72, 140, 144, 151, 179, 180, n.75, 193, 217, 218
 crowning emperor, 119, 123
 as deacons, 144, 202, 207, 212, 215–216, 220
 echelon of, 82, 165, 172, 173, 175, 199, 229, 230
 Anne of Serbia, death, 142–143
 apocalypse, *see* theophany
 apostles, 32, 112, 141, 171
 baptizing, 127–129

apostles—*contd*
 Communion of, 67, 81, 166, 174, 178, 179, 184–189, 191, 193–196, 198, 200, 207, 215–217, 218, 231–232, figs. 58–61
 echelon of, 82, 165, 168, 172, 173, 177, 189 n.123, 192, 229
 see also sub nomine; Seventy Apostles, Index IV
 Arians, 56, 74–75, 91, 105, 110, fig. 16
 Arius, 62, 90, 94, 110, 214
aspasmos [last kiss], 141–144, 161
 asterisk, liturgical, 202, 207, 216, 219
 authors, 37–41, 51, 65, 71, 73, 76, 88, 100, 102–103, 109, figs. 8–11
 baldacchino, 135, 142, 151, 158
 baptism, 43, 44, 45–46, 48, 51, 57, 60, 63, 69, 70, 76, 83, 91, 125–130, 160, 240, figs. 28–31
 Bartholomew, apostle, relics, 150
 Basil I, emperor, 117, 120, 121
 Basileia, personification, 119
 Basilicinus, co-emperor, 118, 120, fig. 26
 biographical cycle, 69, 76, 79–80, 83, 88–97, 239
 birth, *see* Nativity
 bishops
 echelon of, 66, 177, 189, 192, 193, 197, 226–232, figs. 17, 18

- bishops—*contd.*
 officiating, 193–195, 198, 200–214, 220,
 figs. 55, 56, 66
see also Amnos; councils; Index IV *sub*
nomine
- blessing gesture, 118, 121, 129, 133–134,
 154, 160–161, 193–194, fig. 26
- books, 32, 34, 103, 110, 129, 133–134,
 141–143, 158, 161, 171, 201–202,
 220, 239
see also rolls
- burial, *see* funeral
- calumny, 96
- candle, *see* taper
- Celestial Liturgy, 82, 199, 207, 215,
 217–221, figs. 62, 64, 65
- censer, 121, 129, 135, 138–144, 146–152,
 155, 158, 161, 218, 219
- chalice, 71, 191, 201–202, 215
- charity, 100
- Christ, 32, 39, 66, 71, 82, 138, 143, 161,
 figs. 19, 53
 and Apostles, 102, 167, 171, 178; *see*
also Apostles, Communion of
- Baptism of, 70, 126–127, 129
- baptizing, 63, 127
- blessing, 40, 112
- celestial, 3–4, 74, 165, 172, 174, 175,
 179–184, 193, 196, 219, 226–231
- child, *see Amnos*; Peter (Alexandria),
 vision of (Index IV); Virgin, and
 Child
- crowning emperor, 124, 129, 130
- icons of, 55, 57, 74, 99
- Life of, 3, 184–189; *see also*
 Crucifixion; Great Feasts; Last
 Supper
- as Patriarch, 4, 18, 24, 133, 166, 194,
 214–221, figs. 62–64; *see also* Celestial
 Liturgy
- pronubus*, 122
- Threnos of, 143–144, 161
see also Adoration of Christ; Deësis;
 Dormition; Last Judgment; Nicolas
 of Myra (Index IV); Paraclesis;
parousia: Praising the Lord;
 theophany
- Christmas Sticheron, 181
- Church appointments, 130–136, 160–161
- clipeus*, 39, 55, 57, 64, 151, 180 n.74,
 182, 193, 230
- commentators, 38–39, 71, figs. 8, 9
- communion, 46, 57, 60, 74, 77
 of Mary the Egyptian, 230
see also Apostles, Communion of
 confessors [*homologetoi*], echelon of,
 167, 168, 177, 189 n.123
- consecration of altar, 24, 70, 158–160,
 fig. 50
- consecration of bishop, 16, 43, 69, 71,
 76, 83, 88, 90, 91, 92, 93, 95, 109,
 130–136, 160–161, 240, figs. 34, 35
- Constantine VII, emperor, 117, 121, 142
 n.148, 156
- Constantine IX, Monomachus, emperor,
 118, 121, 124
- Constantinople, 58, 67, 242
- Blachernae, 43, 147, 152, 154
- Holy Apostles, 146, 152
- Saint Sophia, 242
- conversion, 28, 44, 46–47, 52, 69, 86–87,
 90–91, 108, 125–126, 128–129, 160,
 240, figs. 28, 29, 31
- coronation, 43, 117–120, 124, 160, 240,
 figs. 26, 53
- Cosmas & Damian, martyrs, 14, 19–20,
 56, 86, 179
- council of impious, 59
- councils, church, 44, 69, 71, 74, 80, 92,
 98–99, 102, 104, 170–171, 177, 199,
 224, 247
- I Nicaea, 46, 62, 90, 94, 214
- synod of 815, 55, 57
- synods of 1351 & 1358, 28
- Cross
- ceremonial, 145, 147
- Exaltation of, 15, 52, 53 n.119, 54, 57,
 58, 62, 63, 77, 93, 154–155, 162,
 fig. 45
- Invention of, 148–149
- ornament on vestments, 105, 224; *see*
also polystavrion; *sakkos*
- procession with relic of, 43, 154
- trophy, 57, 77, 165, 178, 179
- Veneration of, 60, 62, 153–154, 162,
 fig. 44
see also Hetoimasia
- crown, 117–120, 121–125, 160, 179
- Crucifixion, 82, 83–84
- Cyrus & John, martyrs, relics, 150
- David (O. T.), 119, 122, 124, 191,
 242–243
- deacons, 60, 65, 66, 71, 80 n.275, 131,
 135, 142, 151, 158, 175, 176, 193,
 194 n.144, 220

deacons—*contd.*

Seven Deacons, 132

see also angels, as deacons

death, 42, 43, 44, 47 n.78, 49, 54, 76, 80, 91, 92, 93, 108, 139–144, 155, 240

see also funeral; Virgin Mary, Dormition

Deësis, 18, 29, 33, 79, 81, 84, 172, 182–184, 193, 217, 226, 230–231, fig. 19

Demetrius, martyr, cycle, 54

devil, 74–75, 90, 96

dextrarum junctio, 44, 121–123, 160

diadem, *see* crown

disciple, *see* apostles

disputation, 56, 75, 91, 105, 110

see also councils

doctor, *see* author; preacher; teacher

donor, 37, 39, 40, 80, 179–181, 199, fig. 53

dove, 127, 202

dragon, 52, 97–98, 214

Ecclesia, 72, 206

encheirion, 21–22, 23, 24, 32, figs. 3, 5

entombment, *see* funeral

Ephrem, monk, death, 140

epigonation, *see* *encheirion*

epimanikia, 20–21, 23, 32

epiphany, *see* theophany

epitachelion, 19–20, 22–23, 32, 46, 135, 217

Eucharist, 60, 69, 76, 94, 95, 100, 110, 112, 166, 191

see also *Amnos*; bishops, officiating; Celestial Liturgy; communion

Eustathius, martyr, cycle, 48, 51, 125

Euthymius, *hieromonachos*, cycle, 109 n.125, 125, 132

Evangelists, 37, 103; 165, 172

see also John; Luke; Mark

Exaltation of the Cross, *see* Cross

exorcism, 60, 92

font, baptismal, 63, 70, 74, 114, 126, 128, 129, 142

Forty Martyrs, relics, 19, 32, 57, 58, 149–150, 162

funeral, 46, 61 n.170, 70, 76, 88, 96, 137–144, 152, 161, 240, figs. 36, 37, 39

Gabriel of Zletovo, hermit, death, 143
gammata, 17

gifts, *see* oblations

Gorgonia, sister of Gregory of Nazianzus, death, 140

Great Feasts, 54, 62, 66, 78, 81, 138

halo, *see* nimbus

head-dress, 29–30, 33, 87, 104–106, 110, 220, figs. 2, 6, 7

hegumen, 28

heretics, 20 n.90, 21, 24, 61, 71, 98–99, figs. 16, 21

Hermogenes, martyr, cycle, 51, 125

Hetoimasia, 179, 200–202, 208–209, 217, 218, fig. 18

Holy Face, 50, 79, 156, 162

Holy Spirit, 247

host, liturgical, 191, 193–196

Iannis, *see* John VIII Grammaticus
(Constantinople) Index IV

icons, 44, 65, 70, 73, 74, 99, 148, 162, 175, figs. 54, 57

see also *clipeus*

idols, 61, 75 n.262, 90, 98, figs. 14, 21
imposition of hands, 125–129, 133, 160–161

incensation, *see* censer

initial letters, 47 n.78, 48, 49, 65, 66

intercession, 79, 174, 181–184, 197, 225–232, fig. 19

investiture, 43, 131, 135–136, fig. 36

Ivan Asen, prince, death, 44, 143

Joasaph, convert, 45–47

John the Baptist, 57, 61, 66, 88, 127, 139, 179, 183 n.86, 184, 202 n.170, 227, fig. 19

relics, 44, 50, 52, 63, 146, 148, 149, 156, 162, fig. 42

see also Christ, Baptism of; Deësis

John I Tzimiscēs, emperor, 44, 118, 119

just, The, 10, 14, 56, 99, 111, 166–167

Justinian I, emperor, 10, 180, 183–184

laity, 198, 248 n.42

Last Judgment, 58, 61, 166, 192, fig. 17

Last Supper, 179, 184–189, 216, fig. 61

Leo V, emperor, 57, 110, 118, 120

liturgy, *see* *Amnos*; Apostles,

Communion of; bishops, officiating; Celestial Liturgy; communion;

Eucharist

Luke the Evangelist, relics, 146, 152

lying in state, *see* *prothesis*

- mandyas*, 30
 Mark the Evangelist, 83, 87, 91, 127,
 129, 132
 relics, 155 n.178
 see also Mark (Alexandria) Index IV
 marriage, 43; 44, 121–125, 160, 240,
 fig. 27
 martyrdom, 45, 48, 50, 52, 68, 85, 89,
 94, 98, 108, 149, fig. 43
 martyrs, echelon of, 67, 168, 171–172,
 177, 189 n.123
 Melchisedech (O. T.), 188, 204, 208
 Michael I Rhangabe, emperor, 43, 118,
 120, 131
 Michael II, emperor, 142
 Michael III, emperor, 117, 146, 148,
 171–172
 Michael IV, the Paphlagonian, emperor,
 43, 118, 121, 142 n.148
 Michael V, emperor, 118, 119
 Milutin Nemanjić, king, 123–124, 143,
 189
 miracles, 85–87, 88, 89, 90, 96–97, 108
 mitre, *see* head-dress
 monks, 29, 46, 65, 101, 140, 143
 Moses, (O. T.) 114
- Nativity, 88, 188
 Nemanjić, family tree, 18, 224
 Nicephorus III Phocas, emperor, 44,
 118, 119
 nimbus, 8, 34
- oblations, 179–180, 196, 204–205, 211,
 218, 220
 see also donor
 offerings, *see* oblations
 Olga, Russian convert, 44, 129
omophorion, 9–13, 22–26, 31–32, 61, 84,
 103–104, 107 n.112, 110, 135, 194
 n.144, 216, 239, figs. 3, 63
orarion, 135, 194 n.144, 218
 ordination, 67, 80, 90, 92, 131–132, 135,
 figs. 32, 33
 simoniac, 32, 56, 57, 132
 see also consecration of bishop
- paenula*, 9–10, 13, 31–32, fig. 1
 Paraclesis, 84, 182, 197, 204
 see also Deësis
parousia, 60, 201
 paten, 191, 201, 202, 212, 216
- Paul, apostle, 41, 82, 140, 191, 230, 231
 baptism of, 128
 with John Chrysostom, 38, 49, 66, 72,
 93, 103, 107, 111–112, 194,
 figs. 23–25
 Pelagia, convert, 28, 52, 129, fig. 29
 Pentecost, 69, 247
 Persian martyrs, relics, 152–153
 Peter, apostle, 27–28, 114, 132 n.94, 140,
 191, 230, 231, fig. 32
 baptizing Cornelius, 128
 inspiring Clement of Rome, 51 n.107
 ordaining the Seven Deacons, 132,
 fig. 32
 portrait type for popes, 107
 trampling Hades or Simon Magus,
 55–56, 75, 97
 Veneration of Chains, 52, 62, 153, 157,
 162, figs. 47, 48
phelonion, 13–16, 22–24, 33, 148, 203,
 217, figs. 3, 5
 philosopher, 167, 177
polystavrion, 13–16, 22–24, 105, 147,
 158–159, 203, 239, fig. 17
 portraits, 37–41, 47–53, 68, 69, 73, 76,
 79, 106–108, 151, 167–177
 see also clipeus
 possession, demonic, *see* exorcism
potamoi, 17, 24
Praefectus Annonae, 9, fig. 1
 Praising the Lord, 59, 166
 prayer, 52, 56, 65, 66, 74–75, 79, 93,
 99–100, 153, 180 n.75, figs. 17–19,
 22
 preachers, 38, 70–72, 77, 92, 101, 109
 priests, 19–20, 22, 60, 66, 95, 131–132,
 143, 217
 processions, 43, 44, 52, 162, fig. 49
pronubus, *see* Christ; marriage
 prophets (O. T.), 39, 66, 72, 119, 203,
 fig. 8
 echelon of, 165, 172, 173, 175, 189
 n.123, 230, 231
proskynesis, 38, 62, 74, 99
prospora, *see* host
prothesis, funerary [lying in state], 137,
 139–144, 161, 240
- Raising on shield, 118, 120
 relics, 43, 80, 158–159, 161–162, 240
 Adventus of, 52, 63, 83, 145–158, 152,
 156–158, 162, figs. 40, 41
 Deposition of, 151–153, 155, 157

relics—*contd.*

- Invention of, 19, 32, 50, 54, 57, 58, 63,
148–150, 157, figs. 38, 42
- Translation of, 44, 50, 51, 52, 54, 63,
93, 150–151, 157, figs. 40, 41, 43, 48
- Veneration of, 50, 52, 54, 62, 77,
153–156, 157, figs. 47, 51, 52
- reliquaries, 44, 145–149, 152, 155
- rhabdos*, 26–29, 34, 43, 129, 131, 136
- rhypidion*, 135, 144, 161, 212, 216, 218
- rivers, 113, 126–128
- rolls, 32, 39, 112, 133, 171, 182–183, 194,
202 n.170, 203, 204
- liturgical, 59, 65, 193, 195, 200,
203–205, 207, 208, 216–217, 220
- see also* books
- Romanus II, emperor, 117, 121, 142
n.148
- Romanus III, emperor, 118, 121, 142
n.148
- Romanus IV, emperor, & Eudocia,
123–124
- sacrifice (O. T.), 180, 193, 196, 200
- sakkos*, 16–19, 23, 24, 33, 166, 216–217,
219, 239, figs. 2, 4, 58, 60, 62
- sarcophagus, 139, 150–151, 157
- Second Coming, *see parousia*
- Serapeion (Alexandria), 42, 98
- seraphim, *see* angels
- Seventy Apostles, *see* Index IV
- Simon Magus, 56, 75, 97
- Sion, 58, 64
- Sources of Wisdom, 103, 111–115,
figs. 24, 25
- speaking gesture, *see* blessing gesture
- sponsor, *see* baptism
- staff, *see rhabdos*
- standard, 179
- see also rhypidion*
- Stephen, son of Romanus I, 117, 142 n.148
- Stephen the Deacon, relics, 145, 147, 150
- sticharion*, 9, 16–17, 23, 218
- Symeon Nemanja, relics, 148, 156, 162,
fig. 41
- synods, *see* councils
- tapers, 99, 129, 140, 142–143, 150, 156,
158, 160, 161, 200, 216
- teacher, 38, 70–72, 73, 92, 102, 109, 194

- Theodore the Studite, 19 n.87, 22, 57, 62
n.174, 110, fig. 5
- relics, 150 n.188
- Theodosius I, emperor, 42, 69, 95, 136,
148
- theophany, 125, 178, 188, 196
- Theophilus, emperor, 43, 91, 110, 142,
154, figs. 15, 27
- Thomas, apostle, 151
- baptizing Indians, 128
- throne, *see* Hetoimasia
- thurible, *see* censers
- Timothy, apostle, *see* Timothy (Ephesus)
- Index IV
- Titus, apostle, *see* Titus (Crete) Index IV
- tomb, 96–97, 155
- see also* funeral
- tonsure, 43, 75 n.265, 162
- Traditio legis*, 178
- Trimorphon, *see* Deësis
- Triumph of Orthodoxy, rite, 63, 162,
fig. 46
- Triumphal imagery, 3, 42, 55–56, 59, 64,
76, 97–99, 109–110, 165, 196,
figs. 12–14
- see also* Cross, trophy
- trophy, *see* Cross
- tunic, *see sticharion*
- unction, rite 242–243
- usurpers, 118, 119–120, 124
- veils
 - liturgical, 202, 212
 - marriage, 43, 121
- Virgin Mary, 39, 66, 82, 88, 92, 114–115,
119, 143, 148, 171–172, 175, 231
- and Child, 169, 179, 193–194, 218
- Dormition, 54, 59, 61 n.170, 62,
140–141, 161, 240, figs. 37, 39
- relics, 50–51, 54, 147, 151–152, 155,
157–158, 162
- see also* Christ, Threnos; Deësis;
Nicolas of Myra; Paraclesis
- wisdom, 77, 111–115, 193–194, 196, 240
- writer, *see* author
- Zachariah (O. T.), relics, 150
- Zoe, empress, 118, 121, 124

IV. PICTURES OF BISHOPS

Besides existing representations of bishops, those known only from the literary sources are included in this index. Persons who, although not bishops, were represented as such have their names in italics (*Philo*). For patriarchs of Constantinople and popes of Rome, the date of their reign is given; for other bishops the century in which they lived (4th c.). When the name of a bishop occurs in a Byzantine liturgical calendar, the day and month of the commemoration is added (20 Oct.). The bishop's see follows his name (Larissa). Bishops with the same name are listed in alphabetical order of their sees.

- Abercius (Hieropolis, 2nd c., 22 Oct.), 176
 Abraham (Sinai, date unknown), 80
 Achilles (Larissa, 4th c., 15 May), 222, 223
 Adelphius (Arabissus, 5th c.), 93
 Agapetus (Rome, 535–536), 168
 Agathangelus (Damascus, date unknown, 5 Nov.), 228
 Agathon (Rome, 678–681, 21 Feb.), 222
 Alexander (Constantinople, 314–337, 2 July), 169
 Alexius the Studite (Constantinople, 1025–1043), 28, 43, 131, 136
 Alexius (Novgorod, 14th c.), 15
 Ambrose (Milan, 4th c., 7 Dec.), 42, 50, 222
 Amphilocius (Iconium, 4th c., 19 Oct.), 39, 49, 51 n.107, 60, 205, 227, 230
 Ananias (Damascus, 1st c., 1 Oct.), 48, 53 n.119, 87, 98, 128
 Anatolius (Constantinople, 449–458), 170
 Andrew (Crete, 8th c., 4 June), 39
 Anianus (Alexandria, 1st c.), 83, 87, 90–91, 128, 132
 Anthimus (Nicomedia, 4th c., 3 Sept.), 48 n.79, 99, 132 n.94, 173, 176
 Antipas (Pergamon, 1st c., 11 Apr.), 132 n.94
 Antony III the Studite (Constantinople, 974–979), 131
 Antony (Sinai, date unknown), 80
 Apollinarius (Ravenna, 2nd c., 23 July), 99, 169, 180 n.75
 Arethas (Caesarea, 9th c.), 39, 60
 Arsenije I (Serbia, 13th c.), 18, 92–93, 131, 133, 212, 222
 Asterius (Durazzo, 1st c., 5 July), 223
 Athanasius (Alexandria, 4th c., 18 Jan.), 15, 16, 40 n.25, 60 n.164, 66, 68, 74, 87, 92, 104, 106, 114, 139, 141, 171 n.36, 172, 173, 175, 177, 192 n.154, 223, 229–231, fig. 10
 Athenogenes (Armenia, 4th c., 17 July), 227
 Autonomus (Italy, 4th c., 12 Sept.), 48 n.79
 Babylas (Antioch, 3rd c., 4 Sept.), 48 n.79
 Basil (Amasea, 4th c., 26 Apr.), 50

Basil (Caesarea, 4th c., 1 Jan.), 15, 16, 28, 38, 40 n.25, 56, 58, 60 n.164, 62, 65, 73, 77, 80, 87, 106, 171, 173, 175, 176, 228-230, fig. 10
 scenes, 19, 68-71, 73, 80, 88, 91, 94-95, 99, 100, 102, 109, 125, 130 n.76, 131, 132 n.94, 138, 139, 141-142, 193-196, 198, 199 n.154, 200, 203-205, figs. 22, 35
see also Three Hierarchs
 Basil I Scamandrenus (Constantinople, 970-974), 131
 Basil (Raphanea, 4th c.), 95
 Blasius (Sebaste, 3rd c., 11 Feb.), 50, 51, 57, 228, 229, 231
 Bucolus (Smyrna, 2nd c., 6 Feb.), 230
 Callistus I (Constantinople, 1350-1353, 1355-1363), 65 n.192
Clement of Alexandria (philosopher, 2nd c.), 107 n.112
 Clement (Ancyra, 4th c., 23 Jan.), 50, 58, 227, 230
 Clement (Ohrid, 9th c.), 108, 222-223
 Clement (Rome, 1st c., 25 Nov.), 38 n.7, 49, 87, 107, 108, 171 n.36, 175, 222, 227, 230
 miracle of, 49, 52, 96-97, 171
 Constantine (Corcyra, 12th c.), 82
 Constantine Manasses (Naupactus, 12th c.), 38
 Constantine Cabasilas (Ohrid, 13th c.), 18, 222-223
 Constantine Mesopotamites (Thessaloniki, 12th c.), 82
 Cornelius (Rome, 3rd c.), 178 n.23
 Cornelius the Centurion (Scamandrus, 1st c., 20 Oct.), 128
 Cyprian (Antioch, 3rd c., 2 Oct.), 28, 68-71, 87, 88-89, 125, 139, 239
 relics, 88 n.16
 Cyprian (Carthage, 3rd c.), 169 n.23
 Cyril (Alexandria, 5th c., 18 Jan.), 16, 29, 34, 40 n.25, 66, 74, 87, 104-105, 107-108, 110, 171 n.36, 173, 177, 204, 223, figs. 6, 11
 scenes, 92
 Cyril (Jerusalem, 4th c., 18 March), 106
 Cyril the Philosopher, Apostle of the Slavs (9th c.), 107-108, 194 n.141, 223
 Cyril (date and *see* unknown), 9 n.9
 Cyrus (Faras, 9th c.), 10
 Cyrus, Paul, Peter, Pyrrhus, Sergius (Monothelites, 7th c.), 170

Danilo II (Serbia, 14th c.), 30
 Dionysius the Areopagite (Athens, 1st c., 3 Oct.), 40 n.25, 48, 141, 173
 Domitianus (Melitene, 6th c., 10 Jan.), 150
 Domnus (Illyricum, 4th c.), 168
 Ecclesius (Ravenna, 6th c.), 169, 179
 Eleutherius (Illyricum, 4th c., 15 Dec.), 50, 57, 85, 176, 230
 Elias (Crete, 12th c.), 29, 39, fig. 9
 Epiphanius (Trimithus, 4th c., 12 May), 15, 57, 171 n.36, 175, 222, 223, 226, 229, 231
 Eulalius (Doara, 4th c.), 131
 Eusebius (Samosata, 4th c., 22 June), 227
 Eustathius (Antioch, 4th c., 22 Feb.), 106
 Euthymius I (Constantinople, 907-912, 6 Apr.), 16, 131, 133
 Eutychius (Constantinople, 552-565, 577-582), 170, 229, 230
 Flavian (Constantinople, 446-449, 17 Feb.), 170
 George (Constantinople, 679-686, 18 Aug.), 230
 Germanus (Constantinople, 715-730, 12 May), 172, 227, 229
 Grapti, *see* Theodore & Theophanes
 Gregory (Agrigentum, 7th c., 24 Nov.), 49, 87, 96, 175-177, 230
 scenes, 57
 Gregory the Illuminator (Armenia, 3rd c., 30 Sept.), 48 n.79, 87, 95-96, 173, 175, 177
 scenes, 57
 Gregory of Nazianzus (Constantinople, 379-381, 25 Jan.), 15, 16, 17, 24, 30, 37-41, 46, 56, 58, 60 n.164, 63, 67, 77, 82, 87, 106-107, 171, 173, 175, 176, 199 n.154, 223, 227-231, figs. 9, 10
 scenes, 12, 26, 28, 47, 88, 100-102, 130-131, 132 n.94, 136, 140, 158-160, figs. 34, 35, 50, 51
 relics, 151, fig. 48
see also Three Hierarchs
 Gregory the Elder (Nazianzus, 4th c., 1 Jan.), 68, 69, 87, 91, 95, 100, 101, 125, 129
 Gregory the Wonderworker (Neocaesarea, 3rd c., 17 Nov.), 15, 49, 56, 82, 173, 175, 177, 230, 231

- Gregory (Nyssa, 4th c., 10 Jan.), 15, 39,
40 n.25, 60 n.164, 68, 69, 74,
106–107, 132 n.94, 140, 175, 177,
229, 231, fig. 10
- Gregory I Dialogus (Rome, 590–604,
14 Mar.), 171 n.36, 175, 222
- Gregory Palamas (Thessaloniki, 14th c.),
18
- Hermagoras (Aquileia, 1st c.), 132
- Hierotheus (Athens, 1st c., 4 Oct.), 141
- Hippolytus (Rome, 3rd c., 29 Jan.), 85
- Hypatius (Gangra, 4th c., 14 Nov.), 52,
87, 98, 227, 230
- Iannis, *see* John VIII Grammaticus
- Ignatius (Antioch, 2nd c., 20 Dec.), 10,
13, 64 n.190, 67, 74, 108, 173, 231
relics, 150
- Ignatius (Constantinople, 847–858,
867–877, 23 Oct.), 81, 131, 133
- Jakov (Serrai, 14th c.), 29, 40
- James Brother of the Lord (Jerusalem,
1st c., 23 Oct.), 25, 38, 54, 67, 133,
141
- Joanikije II (Serbia, 13th c.), 143
- John III the Almoner (Alexandria,
7th c., 12 Nov.), 49, 57, 58, 100, 199,
n.154, 230
- John brother of Het'um I (Armenia,
13th c.), 40 n.21
- John I Chrysostom (Constantinople, 398–
404, 14 Sept.), 15, 16, 19, 21, 37–40,
55–58, 60 n.164, 62 n.174, 107, 172,
175, 176, 193, 223, 228–230, figs. 10,
11
- Inspiration of, 38, 49, 58, 93, 102–103,
112, figs. 23–25
- other scenes, 30, 52, 57, 62, 73, 93–94,
99, 101–102, 130 n.76, 132 n.94,
155, 199 n.154, 203–205
- relics, 52, 63, 93, 147–148, 151
see also Three Hierarchs
- John III Scholasticus (Constantinople,
565–577), 170
- John IV the Faster (Constantinople,
582–595, 2 Sept.), 53 n.119
- John VIII Grammaticus (Constantinople,
837–843), 55–56, 98, 131, figs. 12, 13
- John Mauropous (Euchaita, 11th c.), 87,
111–112
- John IV (Rome, 640–642), 168
- John Caloctenes (Thebes, 12th c.), 223
- Joseph II (Constantinople, 1416–1439),
18
- Lazarus (Citium, 1st c., Saturday before
Palm Sunday), 12, 26, 61, 222, 230
- Leo I (Rome, 440–461, 18 Feb.), 104,
171, 222, 230
- Leontius (Caesarea or Catania, date
unknown), 230, 231
- Lucian (Antioch, 4th c., 15 Oct.), 228
- Macedonius (Constantinople, 342–346,
351–360), 170
- Mamas* (shepherd), 68
- Marianus (Faras, 11th c.), 10
- Mark (Alexandria, 1st c.), 79 n.266, 132
- Mark (Arethusa, 4th c., 29 Mar.), 68
- Martin (Rome, 649–655, 15 Sept.), 222
- Martin (Tours, 4th c., 10 Nov.), 31, 85
- Maurus (Illyricum, 4th c.), 168
- Maximian (Ravenna, 6th c.), 10, 180
- Meletius (Antioch, 4th c., 12 Feb.), 199
n.154, 230
- Merkurije (Morava, 13th c.), 143
- Methodius (Constantinople, 843–847, 14
June), 29, 34, 73 n.242, 87, 105–106,
107 n.112, 172, 173, fig. 7
- scenes, 16, 43, 96, 131, 133
- Methodius (Olympus, 4th c., 13 May),
73 n.242, 107 n.112
- Metrophanes (Constantinople,
306/7–314, 4 June), 66, 169, 230
- Michael Choniates (Athens, 12th c.), 223
- Modestus (Jerusalem, 7th c., 19 Oct.),
228
- Moses (Novgorod, 14th c.), 15, 29
- Neophytus (Constantinople, 1153–1154),
224
- Nestorius (Constantinople, 428–431), 62
- Nicander (Myra, 1st c., 4 Nov.), 227, 230
- Nicephorus (Constantinople, 806–815,
2 June), 21, 57, 58, 83, 87, 107, 172,
231
- scenes, 43, 55, 98, 110, 131, figs. 12, 13
relics, 52, 150
- Nicolas I Mysticus (Constantinople,
901–907, 912–925, 15 May), 15, 67
- Nicolas II Chrysoberges (Constantinople,
979–991), 131
- Nicolas (Myra, 4th c., 6 Dec.), 15, 20
n.95, 39, 50, 57, 60 n.164, 63, 79,
82, 87, 171 n.36, 173, 175, 177, 199
n.154, 223, 227–229

- Nicolas (Myra)—*contd.*
 scenes, 12, 51, 79, 86, 89–90, 93, 98,
 100, 109, 131, 132 n.94, 139, 142,
 247, figs. 14, 33
 with Christ and Virgin Mary, 103–104,
 110, 135
- Nicolas (Ohrid, 14th c.), 17, 18, 80
- Nonnus (Antioch, date unknown,
 9 Nov.), 28, 129, fig. 29
- Oecumenius (Trikka, 10th c.), 222–223
- Optatus (Vescere in Numidia, 5th c.),
 169 n.23
- Parthenius (Lampsacus, 4th c., 6 Feb.),
 82, 230
- Patricius (Prusa, 4th c., 19 May), 57
- Paul the Confessor (Constantinople,
 4th c., 6 Nov.), 49, 66, 169, 227
- Pausiacus (Synada, 7th c., 13 May), 230
- Peter (Alexandria, 4th c., 25 Nov.),
 22–23, 49, 87, 105, 180 n.36, 228,
 235, 238, figs. 3, 66
 vision of, 49, 66, 94, 100, 109, 110,
 218, 221–222, fig. 20
- Peter (Faras, 10th c.), 10
- Peter Chrysologus (Ravenna, 5th c.), 189
 n.75
- Peter (Sebaste, 3rd c.), 32, 57, 149, 150
- Philip the Deacon (Tralles, 1st c.,
 11 Oct.), 25, 57, 128
- Philip the Prefect (see unknown, 2nd c.),
 50
- Philip (see and date unknown), 9 n.9
- Philo of Alexandria* (philosopher, 1st c.),
 107 n.112
- Philotheus Coccinus (Constantinople,
 1353–1354, 1364–1376), 65 n.192
- Phocas (Sinope, 2nd c., 22 Sept.), 227
- Photius (Constantinople, 858–867,
 877–886), 39, 131, 135, 172
- Polycarp (Smyrna, 2nd c., 23 Feb.), 83
- Polyeuctus (Constantinople, 956–970),
 131, 133, 146
- popes, 29, 34, 98, 104, 107, 168, 222
- Proclus (Constantinople, 436–446,
 24 Oct.), 102, 112, 148, 151, 230, 231
- Sava I (Serbia, 13th c.), 16, 17, 92 n.32,
 108, 212, 223
- Sava II (Serbia, 13th c.), 143
- Sava III (Serbia, 14th c.), 181
- Sergius II (Constantinople, 1001–1019),
 131, 136
- Seventy Apostles (1st c., 30 June), 25–26,
 33, 51, 61
- Severus (Ravenna, 4th c.), 178
- Sissinius II (Constantinople, 996–998),
 131
- Sixtus, *see* Xystus
- Spyridon (Trimithus, 4th c., 12 Dec.), 34,
 50, 56, 74–75, 87, 98, 99, 105, 110,
 222, 227, 230, 231, fig. 16
- Stephen I (Constantinople, 886–893), 146
- Sylvester (Rome, 314–335, 2 Jan.), 60,
 74–75, 84, 87, 104, 126, 171 n.36,
 176, 222
- Tarasius (Constantinople, 784–806,
 25 Feb.), 106–107, 172, 230
- Theodore (Lipljan, 14th c.), 143
- Theodore I (Rome, 642–649), 168
- Theodore & Theophanes Grapti* (see
 unknown, 9th c., 28 Dec.), 50, 87,
 91–92, 110, fig. 15
- Theodotus (Ancyra, date unknown,
 4 Nov.), 227
- Theodotus Melissenus (Constantinople,
 815–821), 43, 131, 133
- Theodotus (Cyrenia, 4th c., 19 Jan.), 230
- Theophilus (Alexandria, 5th c.), 42, 98,
 131, fig. 36
- Theophylact (Constantinople, 933–956),
 30, 44, 131
- Theophylact (Nicomedia, 9th c., 8 Mar.),
 81, 227
- Three Hierarchs (4th c., 30 Jan.), 21, 24,
 56–57, 59, 63, 82, 99, 111–115, 177,
 220, 240
see also Sources of Wisdom, Index III
- Timothy I (Alexandria, 4th c.), 42, fig. 36
- Timothy (Ephesus, 1st c., 22 Jan.), 41,
 54, 141, fig. 43
 relics, 150
- Titus (Crete, 1st c., 25 Aug.), 54
- Tryphon (Constantinople, 927–931), 131,
 133
- Tychon (Amathus, 5th c., 16 June), 199
 n.154
- Ursicinus (Ravenna, 6th c.), 169
- Ursus (Ravenna, 5th c.), 169
- Venantius (Illyricum, 3rd c.), 168
- Xystus [Sixtus II] (Rome, 3rd c.), 169
 n.23